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TO

HORACE HAYMAN WILSON

BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSKRT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF ALL THAT HE OWES TO HIM

AN OXFORD PUPIL

INSCRIBES

THIS VOLUME

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This monograph is the third edition of E B Cowell's translation of a well known work on Prākrt Grammar of Vararuchi, the oldest known grammarian of the Prākrt dialects, i e dialects that are considered inferior to Sanskrt "In Sanskrt dramas, it is women, except female religious characters, and subordinate male personages, who are made to speak in Prākrt languages, the use of Sanskrt being reserved for the higher characters of the play, and amongst the former, again the choice of the special Prākrt dialect is adapted by the poet to the rank which such a subordinate personage holds, the more refined dialect being appropriated, for instance to the wives of the king or hero of the play, an inferior Prakrt to his ministers; others less in degree to the sons of the ministers, soldiers, town people, and the like, down to the lowest Prākrt, which is spoken only by servants or the lowest classes"[1]

Cowell himself wrote in 1850 that, "The women use a different dialect in which Sanskrt is softened down by a similar series of changes to those which have melted Latin into the modern Italian, and these dialectical varieties are more or less regular and euphonious according to the rank of the speaker, the domestics, both male and female, use dialects still more removed from the present Sanskrt'"

The *Sahitya Darpana* enumerates fourteen Vararuchi four while Lassen two such dialects

Here in this work Cowell edites with elaborate commentary, notes and translation the sūtras or grammational rules of Vararuchi and thus introduces students to the study of this most interesting dialect as to a new language, and enables them for the first time fully and thoroughly to understand and appreciate the Sanskrt Dramas

1 Goldstucker, in Chambers' Encyclopaedia, 1862

2 "Hindu Drama', Westminister Quarterly Review, 1850

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PREFACE

Prākṛt is the general term, under which are comprised the various dialects which appear to have arisen in India out of the corruption of the Sanskṛt, during the centuries immediately preceding our era. Their investigation offers much to interest both the philological and the historical student; for not only is a knowledge of Prākṛt (and especially of the principal dialect usually understood by that name,) essential to the explanation of many forms in the modern languages of India[1]—supplying, as it does, the connecting link between these and the ancient Sanskṛt—but, while thus throwing light on the history of one branch of the Indo-Germanic family of languages, it affords many valuable illustrations of those laws of euphony, with whose effects we are ourselves familiar, in comparing the modern Italian and Spanish with the Latin out of which they sprang. At the same time Prākṛt is closely connected with several deeply interesting historical questions. 'The sacred dialects of the Bauddhas and the Jainas are nothing else than Prākṛt, and the period and circumstances of its transfer to Ceylon and Nepāl are connected with the rise and progress of that religion which is professed by the principal nations to the north and east of Hindustān.'[2] When the Greeks,

1 For instance, *cf.* the Hindustānī *chaudah*, *terah*, *bārah*, with the Prākrit forms in Vararuchi, ii. 44. 1. 9.

2 Wilson's "Hindu Drama," Introduction, p. lxvi.

under Alexander, came in contact with India, Prākrt seems to have been the spoken dialect of the mass of the people. The language of the rock-inscriptions of King Asoka, which record the name of Antiochus and other Greek princes about 200 B C, is also a form of Prakrt, and similarly we find it on the bi-lingual coins of the Greek Kings of Bactria. It also plays an important part in all the ancient Hindu dramas, for while the heroes speak Sanskrt, the women and attendants use various forms of Prākrt, the dialectical variations being more or less regular and euphonious according to the rank of the speaker.

Varauchi appears to have been the first Grammarian who reduced these popular dialects to a system, and, if we may receive the Hindu tradition, he was one of the 'nine gems' who flourished at the court of Vikramāditya, King of Ujjain, whose great victory over the Sakæ, as they pressed onward towards India after overrunning Bactria, B C. 56, is the traditional epoch from which the Hindus still date their Samvat era The chronology of Sanskrt literature is extremely uncertain, but there are several circumstances which, in this instance, tend to confirm the popular account, if we may assume, as settled, the identity of Vararuchi and Kātyāyana. For this identification, our chief authorities are the universal popular belief in India, and the direct testimony of Somadeva, a native of Kashmir in the twelfth century. This author, in his encyclopædia of legends, called the *Kathāsarit sagara*, collected from various sources, and comprising a large portion of the mythological lore of the Hindus, expressly mentions them as the same person

and uses either name indiscriminately[3]. For the age of Kātyāyana, we have some independent testimony, which, though not precise, yet certainly throws his date far back into the past, and fixes it, at the latest, as anterior to our era. Kātyāyana has always been the reputed author of the Vārtikas, or supplemental remarks on the ancient Grammar of Pāṇini ; and both names are found in the accounts of the Chinese Buddhist Hiuan-thsang, who travelled in India in the first half of the seventh century of our era. Pāṇini is called Pho-ni-ni, and described as the founder of music, which appears to be the nearest Chinese expression for a grammarian ; the passage relating to Kātyāyana *is as follows:*[4] '*Tchi na pou ti* (erigé par les Chinois), limite de l'Inde du Nord.....*Au sud-est de la grande ville, á 500 li, monastère de Tha mo sou fa na* (forêt obscure) ; lá a vécu le docteur *Kia to yan na, 300 ans aprés le Nirvâna.*[5] *Monastère fondé* par Asoka.' The Buddhist traditions in Ceylon all agree in calling the author of the earliest Pāli grammar Kachchāyano;[6] and, although this is said to have perished, yet when we remember how very closely allied Pāli is to Prākṛt and that Kachchāyano is simply the Prākṛt form of Kātyāyana, there

3 See this point fully discussed in Wilson's *Sanskrt Dictionary*, Introd, (first ed) pp. vi.—xi

4 Quoted in the Appendix (p. 382) to Remusat's translation of the "*Foe Koue ki*, ou Rélation des royaumes bouddhiques". See also M. Julien's "Hist. de la vie de Hiouen Thsang," pp. 102, 165.

5 The common date of the *Nirvāna* of Buddha is B.C. 543; but Hiuan Thsang (as quoted in a note to p. 237) gives several different dates as current in India in his time, the latest of which is about B.C. 360

6 See Turnour's "Mahawanso," Introd. pp. 25, 27

can be little doubt that the Prākṛt grammar of the one and the Pāli grammar of the other, are only the Brahmanical and Buddhist versions of the same tradition.

The following work of Vararuchi or Kātyāyana is certainly our oldest authority for Prākṛt grammar ; and its rules are generally quoted by later grammarians and scholiasts as *par excellence* the 'Prākṛta Śāstra.' Other grammarians have generally followed its system, and contented themselves with adding single rules, or altering the arrangement of its details. Much *discrepancy exists between the Prākṛt of* the grammarians, and that which we find in the plays ; and it is of great importance to have a complete edition ef the oldest grammarian, that we may ascertain, if possible, how far this discrepancy may be ascribed to the multiplied errors of ignorant, and the unauthorised corrections of learned, transcribers; and how far it may have arisen from a difference of time between the age of the poets and that of the grammarians, the dates of Sanskṛt literary history being so uncertain.

The works of the two great grammarians Pāṇini and Vararuchi have been singularly different in their fate; for while the former has been ever guarded with the most scrupulous care, and its *sūtras* (or 'concise aphorisms',) revered with almost Masorethic attention to minutiæ, the latter has been apparently left to all the vagaries of successive copyists and editors. The MSS. often vary considerably, as indeed might be expected in an ancient work, which has passed through so many generations, of copyists, all of whom knew Sanskṛt better than the dialect whose peculiarities the work explained; but the most important

variation is in the *number* of the sūtras, some MSS. containing many which are not found in the others, and as no record appears to have been preserved of the original number, it is a question of some difficulty to decide in particular instances.

The MSS. which I have used in preparing this edition, are as follows —

(A.) No. 1120 *in the East India House Library*. A valuable MS, but frequently difficult to read.[7]

(B.) No. 211 in Professor Wilson's collection in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

(C.) No 210 in the same Clearly written, but very inaccurate

(D.) No 158 in the same

7 It is this which Lassen used for the portions of Vararuchi published in his "Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ" (where he gave Sections i—iv, x—xii, to which we may add Sect. viii, as given from the same source in Dr. Delius' "Radices Pracriticæ"). Having thus only one MS., and that not unfrequently very obscure in its writing, it was impossible for him to avoid many errors of transcription. These have been carefully pointed out in an article in the second volume of Dr Hofer's 'Zeitschrift fur die Wissenschaft d Sprache." I have noticed the more important of them in the notes to the text, but I have not been sorry to escape the unpleasing task of exposing the unavoidable inaccuracies of one whom all Oriental scholars must ever regard with affectionate reverence, Professor Lassen's "Institutiones" have been of such continual service to me in the present work, that I feel bound to add my little tribute of admiration at the skill with which, in spite of such inadequate materials, he has accomplished his difficult task.

(E.) No. 151 in the same. A clearly written MS. in the Bengālī character.

(W.) A beautifully written MS. in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, formerly belonging to Mr. Wathen of Bombay, for whom it was prepared [*prakāśi-kṛtam*] by the Pandit Visnu-Śarman, and transcribed by Bāpū Śarman. Of this I have used an accurate transcript on thin paper, belonging to Dr. Max Muller.

Of these MSS., we must at once separate W from the rest, as being evidently a modern recension. It abounds with new rules [see Appendix A.] which are found in no other MS., and which in some cases spring from evident errors on the part of the editor [as in those numbered 12 and 23 in App. A], in others he seems to have met with two readings in the MSS. and inserted both as separate rules [as *e g.* v. 16 (*cf.* note), vii. 23]; in others he has interpolated sūtras from other grammarians. W is therefore of very little value in a critical point of view, and though I have consulted it throughout, and given its variations where they seemed of importance, the whole has evidently been subjected to such an entire recasting [*prakāśikaranam*], that we can place little reliance on its various readings, unless supported by other authority.

A and C are (as I am persuaded), copies from the same original MS., this was probably written in the Bengalī character, which would explain many of the extraordinary mistakes which the copyist of C has made from ignorance of the character. After collating part of C, and finding it useless from the absurd blunders of the copyist, and its evident identity with A, where the genuine reading was

preserved, I contented myself with simply referring to it in passages where A was doubtful. B is a MS. which seems to be composed of two parts bound together, though both are in the same writing, the paging of the latter from the middle of Section vii. has been altered to suit the former. In the earlier part it generally agrees with A, but in the latter, especially in Section viii. it agrees rather with D, and even *seems to* borrow a few sūtras from W. D and E generally agree,[8] the chief difference being that in the last five Sections (and sometimes in the earlier ones) E continually gives only the bare sūtra and its examples, omitting the explanation of the Commentary, and frequently omits even the examples too. I did not discover E until I had nearly finished my collation, but I have collated it for most of the second half, and referred to it in all cases of difficulty in the earlier parts.

The text of the following edition has been made from a thorough collation of the MSS. ABD (A being taken as the basis), with the collateral help of C and E, which may be considered as respectively co-ordinate with A and D, W has been throughout consulted, and its Variæ Lectiones noted, where of any value, but always as of inferior authority. Where BDEW *agree in giving sūtras not found in* AC, I have inserted them in brackets; and in one instance, at

8 *Thus DE alone quote the line from the Setubandha in the* Comm. to iii 52—For our knowledge of this rare and ancient Prakrit poem we are indebted to Dr Hofer's interesting article in his 'Zeitschrift,' and we trust that, in spite of the corrupt state of the MS which he mentions, he will yet give us an edition of the text. Such a work would be indeed a boon to all Sanskrit scholars.

the end of Section v., I have similarly inserted some from DEW, but their authenticity must be left for future decision. The sūtras found in only one MS. beside W I have given in the notes, the various spurious Sūtras found only in W (nearly fifty in number) are given in Appendix A

Beside the above MSS. of Vararuchi. I have also derived considerable assistance from the works of other Indian grammarians, as the Prākṛta-Sanjīvanī, and the grammars of Kramadiśvara, Hemachandra, etc.

1. The only MS. of the Prākṛta-Sanjīvanī, which I have met with (No. 1503 in the East India House Library) is imperfect at the commencement, and is, unfortunately, very carelessly transcribed, and full of errors. Had it been accurate, it would have been of great service, as it seems to be a co mmentary on Vararuchi's sūtras, which it generally gives in their proper order, but in some places with additions and alterations. The difficulty of deciphering the MS. has precluded my making that use of it which I otherwise should have done. The work consists of nine[9] Sections, corresponding to the first nine of Vararuchi. The general inscription at the close of each section is *Iti vasantarāja virachitāyām prākṛta sanjīvanyām*, or, as it is written at the close of the book, *Prākṛta-sanjīvanīvṛttau*, the only notice which I have found of Vasantarāja himself, is in a passage from the Prākṛta Sarvasva, which states that Mārkandeya, the author of the latter work, commenced it

9 The MS numbers only eight, but the final inscription of the fifth is by mistake repeated for that of the sixth, which has occasioned the error, *cf.* ff. 43. 53.

after a previous study of the systems of former grammarians, among whom he specifies Śākalya, Bharata, Kohala, Vararuchi, Bhāmaha, and Vasantarāja.[10]

2. Hemachandra was a grammarian of the Jaina sect, who flourished in the thirteenth century, and wrote a Prākrt Grammar as an eighth 'Adhyāya' after the seven 'Adhyāyas' of his Sanskrt Grammar. The final inscription is *Ityāchārya śrī Hemachandra-virachitāyām siddha Hemachandrābhidāna svopajna-śabdānuśāsanavrttau*, etc.

This eighth Adhyāya consists of four Pādas, with 271, 217, 180, and 445 sūtras respectively. We have first the Prākrta-bhāṣā (or 'principal Prākrt'), in the first three pādas and half of the fourth, the remainder is occupied with the Saurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśāchī, Chūlikā-Paiśāchī, and Apabhraṁśa bhāṣā. Hemachandra's opening sūtra is '*Bahulam*,' and the *bahulādhikāra is supposed to continue* to the end of the work,[11] and to explain any irregularities which may apparently contradict his rules, especially in the Jaina writings, '*Ārṣam*' being his next sūtra. His arrangement is frequently very different to that of Vararuchi, and in many cases his rules are quite independent. I have found two MSS containing the eighth Adhyāya by itself in the Walker collection in the Bodleian, both in the Devanāgarī character.

10 शाकल्यभरतकोहलवररुचिभामहवसन्तराजाद्यैः प्रोक्तान् ग्रन्थान् नानाग्रन्थांश्च निपुणमालोक्य अन्याकीर्णं विशद घार सत्यापरभधितपप मार्कंडेयकवीन्द्रः प्राकृतसर्वस्वमारभते ॥

11 *An instance of this occurs in a sutra quoted in Appendix E*

[*a.*] (No 200) A very correctly written MS., but some of the characters are very peculiar, and in many parts the writing of the last lines of the page is blurred and illegible.

[*b*] (No. 171) A less legible MS, but more easy of reference from its having the Sūtras of each pāda numbered.

Hemachandra's grammar is too independent of Vararuchi's to afford much aid in illustrating the latter's sūtras, but many of his rules are very interesting, especially those on the Magadhī, an abstract of which I have added at the end of the translation of Section xi [*cf.* p. 181], his rules for the Sauraseni are given in Appendix C [*cf.* pp. 104—106], some important rules on the Sandhi of vowels, and the doubling of consonants, are inserted in Appendix D and Appendix E [*cf.* pp 185—187], and I have frequently quoted his other rules in the notes to the translation

3 Of the Prākrt grammar in the *Samksipta sāra* of Kramadisvara, which, as in Hemachandra, is added at the end of the Sanskrt portion, I have not succeeded in finding a copy (all the MSS. which I have consulted ending with the Sanskrt part), and I have therefore only used the abridgement given by Professor Lassen from the Paris MS. in the Appendix to his 'Institutiones.' As this work is of great value in correcting Vararuchi's text, it is with no small pleasure that I have seen among the publications of the Bengal Asiatic Society, which are announced as in progress, an edition of the Prākrt portion, by Bābu Rājendralāla Mitra. Probably no other grammar could be of the use, which this promises to be, in correcting and elucidating Vararuchi, as

Kramadīśvara has followed his method so much more closely than any other grammarian, whose works have come under my knowledge.

4. To the above I might add the Prākṛta-Sarvasvá, by Mārkaṇḍeyakavīndra, of which there is a copy, bound up with Vararuchi, in the MS. which I have marked D in my collation; but unhappily it is so carelessly transcribed that I have found it quite useless to consult it. I may also mention here that the commentory on the 13th canto of the Bhaṭṭi-Kāvya, which is so written as to be either Sanskṛt or Prākṛt, has not unfrequently proved of some service (*e.g.* p. 37, *note*).

Such are the resources which I have had at my command in preparing the present edition of the Prākṛta-Prakāśa, and so far as a careful collation of the MSS. may help, I trust that something may really have been effected towards a critical recension of the text. Several passages still remain doubtful, and for these Vararuchi must wait for better MSS. or a more competent editor. The various readings, which are added at the foot of each page, will furnish the reader with the different corruptions or alterations of the MSS.; and it is these which we must chiefly consult before we attempt to interfere with the Sūtras themselves, or to correct them by the rules of later grammarians, or the language *of the poets in the plays.*

In the present edition, as the Sanskṛt type required the use of an inconveniently large size of English type to fit with it in printing, I have been obliged to make my notes to the text as brief as possible, and have generally reserved

any explanatory details or proposed emendations for the notes to the translation.

In printing the Sanskrt text, and especially the commentary, I have ventured to relax the rules of sandhi, wherever their strict observance would have obscured the perspicuity of the rule, or would have mixed Prākrt words with Sanskrt, as, whatever opinion may be held of the propriety of printing purely Sanskrt works with such a relaxation of grammatical niceties, the objections can hardly apply to a Sanskrt-Prākrt work like the present, where two languages are continually intermingled, one of which by its very nature repudiates sandhi altogether. I have also throughout followed the MSS. in writing ब as the Prākrt equivalent for the Sanskrit प, in the continental editions of the plays it has been usual to write व, but for this there is no authority,[12] as the MSS. make no difference between the ब = the Sanskrt प, and that = the Sanskrt ब. The rules of Vararuchi evidently show that there was no distinction whatever between *b* and *v*, thus in ii. 2, and iii. 1, we have only one of them introduced, and yet it manifestly is intended to include both, and again in iv. 21, the prepositions *apa* and *ava* both become *o*, which would imply that their Prākrt forms previous to contraction were identical. It is not so easy to determine which of the two sounds thus absorbed the other, and whether in translation we should represent it by *b* or *v* universally, the analogy of the modern languages would incline us to the former, but a sūtra in

12 *Cf* Dr Trithen's remarks in the preface to his edition of the Mahāvirachanta

Hemachandra given below,[13] which is the only passage in which I have seen the subject alluded to, seems to favour the latter, which I have therefore adopted throughout.

Where I have occasionally quoted from the Prākrt of the plays to illustrate peculiar rules, my references have been made to the usual editions, except in '*Śakuntalā*' where I have generally quoted from the excellent edition lately published by Professor Williams, though I have added references to that of Dr. Boehtlingk.

In the English translation, I have endeavoured to follow the plan which Dr. Ballantyne has adopted in his edition of the Laghu Kaumudī. All the peculiar features of the Hindu system are retained, while at the same time those explanations are added, which the sententious brevity of the Hindu grammarians so frequently requires. The culminating point of Hindu grammar is of course the great work of Pāṇini; and it is not impossible that some of my readers, who may be unacquainted with this part of Sanskrt literature, may find in Vararuchi an introduction to his master's more elaborate work. At the same time, the whole system of *sūtras* is so peculiarly Hindu, that a short translation like the present may not be without its interest even as a literary curiosity.

I have to tender my sincere acknowledgments to Dr. Max Muller for the kind assistance which he has so frequently given me during the course of this work, nor

13 [illegible]

would I conclude without expressing my thanks to Mr. Stephen Austin, of Hertford, for the spirited manner in which he has undertaken the printing of this book, and has spared neither pains nor expense in carrying it through the press. We are indebted to him for a series of the most elegant and accurately-printed editions of Oriental books, which have ever been published in this country.

Oxford, December, 1853 E. B C

'Prākrt' (as has been already observed) 'is the common name given to the various dialects which sprang up in early times in India, from the corruption of the Sanskrt;' and, as the word is used by the grammarians, it signifies 'derived,' thereby to denote its connection with the original Sanskrt. Thus, Hemachandra defines it—'*prakrtih sanskrtam, tatra-bhavam tata āgatam vā "prākrtam."*' The later grammarians include many varieties under the name, but most of these are probably the subtil refinements of a later age, as, the older the grammarian is, the fewer we find the dialects to be, and the oldest, Vararuchi, has only treated of four—the Mahārāstrī, the Paiśāchī, the Māgadhī, and the Saurasenī. Of these the first is considered by him as the most important, and it is this which Professor Lassen has treated as his '*dialectus præcipua*.' Its grammar is given in the first nine sections of the 'Prākrta Prakāśa,' the remaining three sections being severally devoted to the peculiarities of the other three dialects.

As the method of Hindu grammarians[1] is very different from that with which we are familiar in Europe, it has been thought that the following short abstract of Prākrt Grammar in a more modern form might not be without its use to the

1 All the rules of Hindu grammarians are given in the form of concise aphorisms (*sutras*), which hang together as on a *thread* (whence the name), so that frequently a rule contains one or more words which have to be supplied in those which follow it, to complete their sense. The aphorisms themselves are expressed as briefly as possible, and to facilitate this the following abbreviations are resorted to:—A word in the genitive case is generally governed by *sthāne* understood (i.e., *instead of* such a word or letter another

student as an introduction to the original, while, at the same time, it is hoped that it will give a sufficient view of the language and its peculiarities to enable any reader of Sanskrt readily to understand the Prākrt passages, which form so large a portion of all Hindu plays

Prākrt almost always uses the Sanskrt roots, its influence being chiefly restricted to alterations and elisions of certain letters in the original word. It everywhere substitutes a slurred and indistinct pronunciation for the clear and definite utterance of the older tongue, and continually affects a concurrence of vowels, such as is utterly repugnant to the genius of the Sanskrt. In the following abstract we shall first treat of the changes which it effects in the letters of the words, and then those which it effects in the letters of the words, and then those which it effects in their declension or conjugation.

SECTION I

1. *Vowels.* (Var. 1)

Prākrt retains all the Sanskrt vowels except *r* (*ri*, *lr*, *lri*) *ai* and *au*

r initial, and with no consonant preceding it, becomes *ri*, and sometimes even when a consonant does precede, this

is to be used), a word in the ablative by *param* (i e, *after* such a word or letter, etc), a word in the instrumental by *saha* (i e, *together with* such, etc), a word in the locative is sometimes used in its proper sense (as in Var, 1 23) but more commonly it is used as a locative absolute, with *pare* understood (i e, *when such a word or letter follows*, the rule refers to that which immediately precedes it, *cf* Panini, 1 1, 66) *Va* signifies 'option'. Panini adopts many more, but these will suffice for Vararuchi

consonant being then elided [Var. i. 30, 31]. ṛ also frequently becomes *a*, *i*, or *u* (especially when preceded by a consonant). For examples, *cf.* Var. i. 27-29. [For *lṛ*, *cf.* i. 33].

ai becomes *e* or *aï*, rarely *i* or *ī* (i. 35-39).

au becomes *o* or *aü*, and sometimes *u* (i. 41-44).

Of the remaining vowels, *e* and *o* are no longer diphthongs, and may be long or short as to their quantity (*cf.* Williams' Śakuntalā, p. 228, note).

Vararuchi in Section i. gives various directions for the changes of the other vowels, but these are rather confined to certain words, than expressive of general rules. Professor Lassen (Inst. pp. 139-144) has laid down as a general principle that *before two consonants a long vowel is shortened*;[a] that is, *ā*, *ī*, and *ū*, become severally *a*, *i*, and *u* (*e* and *o*, being common, may remain): as, *magga* for *mārga*; *diggha* for *dīrgha*; *puvva* for *pūrva*. Subsidiary to this, are the two following rules: [*a*.] If the long vowel is retained, one of the consonants is elided, as *īsara* or *issara* for *īśvara*: [*b*.] A short vowel before two consonants is occasionally lengthened, and one of the consonants omitted, as *jībā* for *jibvā*. *e* and *o* being favourite vowels in Prākṛt, *i* and *u* before a conjunct are very frequently changed to these (*cf.* Var. i. 12, 20). In some words an initial *u* becomes *a* (*cf.* i. 22); for *puruṣa*, 'a man,' we have the anomalous *purisa* (i. 23). We may here mention the anomalous *metta*=*mātra*, which, though not in Vara-

a This principle does not seem to be given in Vararuchi, but *cf.* Appendix D.

ruchi, frequently occurs in the plays [*e.g.* Śak., Williams', p. 183, 6].

2. *Single Consonants.* (Var. ii)

[*a.*] Prākṛt has no palatal or cerebral sibilant (ii. 43), *n* is everywhere changed to *ṇ*, unless it be followed by a dental consonant, and an initial *y* becomes *j*; with these exceptions, *initial* single consonants generally remain unchanged. [N.B. When a preposition or other particle is prefixed the letter ceases to be 'initial', *cf.* Comm., ii. 2, on *suuriso.*] We find a few exceptions, as *una* for *punah*, etc. in the plays, but these are not recognised in Vararuchi, *cf.* also Var. ii. 32—41.

[*b.*] *Final* single consonants are dropped, except *m*, and sometimes *n*, which become anusvāra [iv. 6, 12]. The finals of nouns often assume *a* or *ā*, and so cease to be final (iv. 7—11)

[*c.*] *Medial* single consonants.

k, g, ch, j, t, d, p, b, v, y, (by ii. 2), may be optionally elided or retained, but *t* and *p*, when not elided, generally pass into *d* and *v*[3] (ii. 7, 15); and the elision of *y* (though not so given by Vararuchi) is probably absolute; see Lassen, Sect. 45. The preposition *prati* is always written *padi*, see note, p. 13.

n becomes *ṇ*, *ṭ* becomes *ḍ*; *ḍ* often becomes *l* (ii. 20, 23)

Kh, gh, th, dh, bh, (ii. 27) may remain unchanged, but generally become *h* (when *th* is not so changed, it be-

3 Or *b*, as it is often printed; on this, see Preface, *supra*

comes *dh*, especially in the prose[4], or Śaurasenī dialect, *cf.* xii. 3); *chh*, *jh*, *dh* remain unchanged; *th* always becomes *dh*; *ph* usually remains unchanged, but may become *bh* (ii. 26; *cf.* Lassen, p. 208).

r often becomes *l* (ii. 30); this is universal in the Māgadhī and the inferior dialects. *n*, *m*, *l*, *s*, *h*, remain unchanged. *ś* and *ṣ* become *s* (in some words *ś* becomes *h*, *cf.* ii. 44.). For examples, see Var. ii.

3. *Conjunct Consonants* (Var. iii)

It is in these that the Prākrt changes are most manifest; and, as several distinct Sanskrt combinations are often merged into one Prākrt form, it is sometimes not easy to recognise the original word in its disguise. Prākrt avoids a union of two consonants of different classes, and everywhere endeavours to reduce them to the same; this it generally effects by eliding one or the other (iii. 1—3), and then doubling the remaining one (iii. 50, 51); but there are several exceptions in the various individual combinations. One rule may be observed, viz., wherever a conjunct involves a sibilant, the *s* is represented by the aspirate of the accompanying letter, as in *kkh* for *sk*, *shk*, or *kṣ* (iii. 29), or by *h*, if the other letter has no aspirate, as *nh* for *sn* (iii. 33). When *r* is involved in a conjunct, it sometimes

4 The Mahārāṣṭrī dialect is more peculiarly used in poetry, as we infer, not merely from the usage of the plays, but also from such expressions of Bhāmaha's as '*vitta bhanga bhaya*,' in iv. 16, and his reference to the *gāthāh* in ix 4 Cf Lassen, pp 370-378, who also quotes from the Sāhitya-darpana, 'noble women should properly speak the Śaurasenī, but in their songs (*gāhāh*) they must use the Mahārāṣṭrī'.

passes into anusvāra, as *ansu* for *aśru* ; and the same also applies, but rarely, to *v* and *s* ; *cf.* Var. iv. 15. In some cases a new vowel is inserted between the letters of the conjunct, as *bansa* for *barṣa* ; for this, *see* Var. iii. 59—66.

TABLE OF PRĀKRT CONJUNCTS

The following table will show at a glance the various Sanskrt combinations which each Prākrt one represents. As given there they properly refer to those *in the middle* of a word ; but, by dropping the first letter, they will equally apply to those *at the beginning* ; thus, *kkh*=*ks* when medial, as *jakkha* for *yakṣa*, but *kh*=*ks* when initial, as *khada* for *kṣata* , similarly, *pp*=*pr*, medial, but *p*=*pr*, initial.

क्क=क्त, क्न, क्व (?)[5] iii. 1. =क्य iii 2. =र्क, र्कं ; ष्क, ल्क , क्ल, iii. 3[6].

क्ख=त्ख, प्ख, iii. 1. =ख्य, iii. 2. =क्ष (त्क्ष, क्ष्य), ष्क, स्क, iii. 29 =ष्ख, स्ख (: ख), iii. 1.

ग्ग=ग्न, द्ग, iii, 1 =ग्र, ग्य, iii 2. =ग्र, र्ग, ल्ग, iii 3

ग्घ=ग्घ, द्घ, iii. 1. =घ्र, घ्र, र्घ, iii 2, 3.

ङ्घ=ङ्क्ष (*cf.* iii 56).

च्च=त्य, iii. 2. =च्य, iii. 27. =च्र, र्च iii. 3.

5 *Kk*=*kt* is sometimes found in the plays ; as, *mukka*=*mukta*. *See* Stenzler's note on Mrch . p 29, 1. 20

6 *Kk*=*sk*, *sk*, only in a compound word , as, *tirakkara*=*tiraskara* (*cf* Lassen, p 264), in all other cases it should be *kkh*. The sam· holds of *chch*=*sch*

च्छ=श्च, iii. 27. = ° छ्, iii. 3. =क्ष (त्क्ष) iii. 30. =त्स (त्स्य), प्स, श्च[7], iii. 40.

ज्ज=द्ज, iii. 3. =ज्ञ (sometimes), iii. 5. =ज्र, र्ज, ज्व, iii. 3. द्य, iii. 27. = र्य, iii. 17. =य्य (e.g. *sejjā* for *śayyā*. iii. 17).

ज्झ=ध्य, ह्य, iii. 28[8].

ञ=ज्ञ. न्य. ण्य (sometimes), xii. 7 (*Śaur.*)=ज्ञ, x. 9 (*Paiś.*)

ट्ट=र्त, iii. 22.=त्त (once), iii. 23.

ट्ठ=ष्ट, iii. 10. =ष्ठ, iii. 1. स्त, स्थ (rare), iii. 11. v. 23. viii. 25, 26.

ड्ड=र्द, र्ध (rare), iii. 25, 26.

ड्ढ=द्ध, iii. 2.—र्ध (rare), viii. 44.

ण्ट, ण्ड=न्त, न्द (once), iii. 45, 46.

ण्ण=ज्ञ, iii. 1.=ञ, न्न, iii. 44. =म्न, ii. 42.=ण्य, न्य, iii. 2.=र्ण, ण्व, iii. 3.=न्व, iii. 3, with ii. 42.

ण्ह=ष्ण, श्न, ष्न, स्न, ह्न (ह्ण). iii. 33 ; *cf.* iii. 8.

त्त=क्त, प्त, iii. 1. =त्न, त्म, iii. 2. =त्र, त्व, iii. 3. =र्त, iii. 3, 24.

त्थ=क्थ, प्थ, iii. 1. =त्र,[9] vi. 2. =र्थ, iii. 3. =स्त, iii. 12.=स्थ, iii. 1.

7 *Chchh*=*sth*, very rarely: e.g. *palichchhida*=*pratisthita*. Śakuntalā (Williams' edition), p. 153, 1; cf Lassen, p. 266.

8 *jh* seems to stand for *ks* in such words as *jhina*=*ksina* (Lassen, p. 263), but *cf.* viii. 37.

9 As in the adverbial terminations, i.e., *ettha*=*atra*

द्द = ग्द, द्द, III 1, 3. = द्म, III 2. = द्र, द्दं, द्र, III. 3 (द्र may remain unchanged, III. 4)

द्ध = ग्ध, द्ध, III. 1, 3. = र्धं, द्ध, III. 3.

न्द = न्त (*Saur.*, *cf.* Hema-ch. 261, App. C.)

न्ध = ह्म (once), III. 34.

प्प = क्प, त्प, III. 1. = प्य, III. 2. = प्र, र्पं, ल्प, ष्ट III. 3. = ष्म, III. 49. = त्म (once), III. 48.[10]

प्फ = क्फ, त्फ, प्फ (: फ), स्फ, III. 1. = ष्प, स्प, III. 35, 36.

ब्ब = ग्ब, ड्ब, द्ब, III. 1. = र्बं, ब्र, III. 3.

ब्भ = ग्भ, ड्भ, ड्भ, III. 1. = भ्य, III. 2. = भ्र, र्भं, III. 3. = ह्व (once), III. 47.

म्ब = म्र (on this rare change, *cf.* note transl. III. 53).

म्म = (ह्म, ष्म), न्म, III. 43. = म्य, III. 2. = र्मं, ल्म, III. 3. [म्ल becomes मिल- ; *cf.* III. 62.]

म्ह = ष्म, III. 32. = ष्म, स्म (sometimes), III. 32, *cf.* VI. 49. VII. 7. = ह्म, III. 8.

य्य = र्यं, र्जं, XI. 7. (*Māg*).

र = र्यं (sometimes), III. 18.

रि = र्यं (sometimes), III. 20. [*cf.* x. 8, *Paiś.*] = द (sometimes), I. 31.

रिस, रिह = र्शं, र्षं, र्हं, III. 62.

ल्ल = ल्य, III. 2. = र्लं, ल्व (?), III. 3. = र्यं (rarely), III. 21.

ल्ह = ह्ल, III. 8.

10 *Pp*=*sp*, *sp*, only in a compound word (*cf.* note *supra*, on *kk*), *see* Lassen, p 264.

व्व=द्व,[11] iii. 1. =व्य, iii. 2. =व्र, र्व, iii. 3.

-ँस=र्श, श्र, श्व, स्व, iv. 15.

स्स=श्म, श्य ; ष्म, ष्य ; स्य, iii. 2, with ii 43. =श्र, र्श, श्व ; र्ष, ष्व स्व, स्व, iii. 3.

N.B.—Where *three* consonants come together in the Sanskṛt word, the semi-vowel, if there is one, is always elided, and then the remaining letters are treated according to rule, as in *machchha=matsya* ; unless a nasal precede, in which case the two other letters follow the usual rules, except that they are not doubled after the nasal (iii. 56), as *vinjha=vindhya*, *dhy* becoming *jh* by iii. 28 (the nasal prohibiting the doubling, which would otherwise have been required by iii. 50, 51).

SECTION II

We may divide Prākṛt nouns into five declensions: 1. Those ending in *a* and *ā* ; 2. Those in *i* and *ī* ; 3. Those in *u* and *ū* ; 4. Those ending originally in *ṛ* ; 5. Those ending originally in any consonant.

The two latter classes have only a few cases which entitle them to form separate declensions. Nouns in *ṛ* either change it to *u* or assume a new termination in *ara* or *āra* (*cf*. Vararuchi, v. 31-35) ; nouns of relationship admit also a nominative singular in *ā* ; and *mātṛ*, thus becoming *māā*, is declined like a feminine noun of the first declension (Vararuchi, v. 32, 35). Nouns ending in a consonant

11 *Vv=dv* (by iii. 1) only in such cases as *uvvella* for *udvesta* (viii. 41) where a radical *v* follows the preposition *ud* , *cf*. Lassen, p 258. We once find *v*=an initial *dv*, in *vāraba=dvādaśa*, ii. 14.

(*cf.* Vararuchi, iv. 6-11, 18) either drop their final letter, and so fall under one of the first three declensions (when, if neuter, they generally become masculine), as *sara* for *saras* ; or add an *a* (or *ā* if feminine) to the base, as *āsisā* āśis. This, however, chiefly applies to those cases whose terminations begin with consonants, these expedients being adopted to avoid the necessity of changing the conjunct, which the meeting consonants would produce ; in those cases whose terminations begin with vowels, the Sanskrt form is generally retained, modified by the usual Prākrt laws ; as, *bhavadā* (instr. of *bhavat*), *āusā* for *āyusā* (instr. of *āyus*). *See* Lassen, p. 298.

Prākrt has no dual number nor dative case (substituting the genitive for the latter), but it has two terminations of the ablative plural—*hinto*, which signifies 'from' in a *causal*, and *sunto*, which signifies 'from' in a *local*, sense. The following scheme will give the various forms of the first three declensions, which are by far the most important. As nouns in *u* are declined, *mutatis mutandis*, like those in *i*, no example of these is needed.

DECLENSION OF NOUNS

	वच्छ=वृक्ष masc.	(neut. वण=वन).
	Singular	*Plural*
Nom	वच्छो (neut. वण)	वच्छा (neut. वणाइं-इ, वणाणि, xii. 11.)
Acc.	वच्छं ——	वच्छे, वच्छा (v. 11, cf. note, trans) (neut. = nom.)
Instr	वच्छेण	वच्छेहिं-हि

	Singular	*Plural*
Abl.	वच्छादो-दु वच्छाहि वच्छा	वच्छाहिंतो वच्छेहिंतो वच्छासुंतो वच्छेसुंतो
Gen.	वच्छस्स	वच्छाणं -ण
Loc.	वच्छे वच्छम्मि	वच्छेसु-सुं
Voc.	वच्छ (*neut.* वण)	वच्छा (*neut.* वणाइं -इ)

अग्गि = अग्नि masc. (neut. दहि = दधि).

Nom.	अग्गी (neut. दहिं)	अग्गीओ; अग्गिणो (n. दहीइं इ)
Acc.	अग्गिं ——	अग्गिणो ; अग्गी (?) ——
Instr.	अग्गिणा	अग्गीहिं-हि
Abl.	अग्गीदो-दु-हि	अग्गीहिंतो-सुंतो
Gen.	अग्गिणो अग्गिस्स	अग्गीणं -ण
Loc.	अग्गिम्मि	अग्गीसु -सुं
Voc.	अग्गि (neut. दहि)	अग्गीओ अग्गिणो (n. दहीइं-इ)

माला = माला fem.

Nom.	माला	मालाओ-उ ; माला (*cf.* note, tr. p. 50.)
Acc.	मालं	मालाओ-उ
Abl.	मालादो-दु-हि	मालाहिंतो सुंतो
Instr.	मालाइ-ए	मालाहिं-हि
Gen.		मालाणं-ण
Loc.		मालासु-सुं
Voc.	माले	मालाओ उ

We may observe here that feminine nouns in *i* and *ī* are not distinguished in Prākrt inflexion; and the same holds of those in *u* and *ū*.

णई—नदी fem.

	Singular	*Plural*
Nom.	णई	णईओ -उ ; णई (? Lass. p. 307, note 2.)
Acc.	णइं	
Abl.	णईदो दु -हि	णईहिंतो-सुतो
Instr.	णईअ-आ	णईहिं-हि
Gen.		णईणं-णा
Loc.	णइइ-ए	णईसु-सु
Voc.	णइ	णईओ-उ

SECTION III—PRONOUNS (VAR. VI)

The Prākrt *pronouns* follow the inflexions of nouns, but also add some peculiar forms of their own. The accompanying scheme of declension, as applied to *ja*=*ya*, contains, it is hoped, all the forms which are really useful to the student.

As a final consonant is always rejected in Prākrt, some of the pronominal bases are changed from their Sanskrt forms before the case-affixes are subjoined, thus, *kim*, *yad*, *tad*, become severally *ka*, *ja*, and *ta*, *etad* becomes *eda*, and sometimes *e* (Var. vi. 21); *idam* becomes *ima*; *adas* becomes *amu* (and sometimes *aba*, vi. 24). *Kim*, *yad*, *tad*, have also a second form in *i*, as *ki*, *ji*, *ti*, which, though generally restricted to the feminine, still furnishes some forms to the instrumental and genitive singular of the masculine and neuter. Prākrt, in fact, appears to have used the pronominal forms with great laxity; thus we find the proper masculine form of the locative (as *imassim*) frequently used for the feminine, as in Sakuntalā (Williams' edition), pp. 36, 2; 115, 3.

We may here add a few peculiar forms which Vararuchi notices; such as *to* and *etto* for *tasmāt* and *etasmāt* (vi. 10, 20); *se* for *tasya* or *tasyāḥ* (vi. 11); *sim* for *teṣām* or *tāsām*; *aha* for the nominative singular of *adas*, being apparently used for the three genders. *ṇam*, though not given in Vararuchi, is frequently found in the plays for *enam* and *enām*. For *kiyat*, *tāvat*, etc., we have (by iv. 25) the forms *keddaha*, *kettia*, *teddaha*, *tettia*, etc.

ज=य (Masc.) 'Who.'

	Singular		*Plural*	
Nom.	जो	(जं neut.)	जे	(जाइं-इ neut.)
Acc.	जं	——	जे	——
Instr.	जेण जिणा		जेहिं	
Abl.	जत्तो -त्तु जदो -दु		जाहिंतो जासुंतो	
Gen.	जस्स जास[12]		जाणं -ण जेसिं	
Loc.	जस्सिं -स्सि जम्मिं म्मि जहिं जत्थ		जेसु -सुं	

Feminine

	Singular		Plural
Nom.	जा		जाओ -उ जीओ -उ
Acc.	जं		
Abl.	जादो -दु जीदो (?)		जाहिंतो -सुंतो जीहिंतो -सुंतो
Instr.	जिणा	जाए -इ ; जीए -इ जीअ -आ	जाहिं जीहिं
Gen.	जस्सा जासे (?) जिस्सा जीसे		जासां जेसिं[13] ; जासिं जाणं-ण जीणं-ण जीसिं
Loc.	जाहे जइआ		जासु सु जीसु -सुं

12 We find also a neuter genitive *kisa*, used in the sense of 'why ?' in the plays

13 Hemachandra gives these first two forms. For *jāsim*, *cf.* vi. 4, var. lect.

The personal pronouns are given in Vararuchi, vi. 25-53. I have enclosed in brackets those forms which probably never occur in the plays. The plurals are regularly formed from new bases; as *tujjha*, *tumha*, *tumma*, *amba*, and, in some cases, *majjha* (*cf.* Hindūstānī *tujh* and *mujh*).

युष्मद् 'Thou,'

	Singular	*Plural*
Nom.	तुमं[14] (तं)	तुज्झे तुम्हे
Acc.	(तं तुं) तुमं	तुज्झे तुम्हे वो
Instr.	(तइ) तए[15] तुमए तुमे (तुमाइ) ते दे	तुज्झहिं तुम्हेहिं तुम्मेहिं
Abl.	तत्तो (तइत्तो तुमादो -दु -हि).	तुम्मा हिंतो -सुंतो
Gen.	(तुमा तुह तुज्झ तुम्म तुम्ह ते दे	वो भे तुज्झाणं तुम्हाणं
Loc.	तइ[16] (तए तुमए तुमे) तुमम्मि	तुज्झेसु तुम्हेसु

अस्मद् 'I.'

Nom.	अहं (हं अहअं अहम्मि)	अम्हे (वअं in prose, xii. 25)
Acc.	मं ममं (अहम्मि)	अम्हे णो (णे?)
Instr.	मे मए (मइ ममाइ)	अम्हेहिं

14 In Śak, Williams', p. 230, 1. 1, we find a nom. *tum*; *cf.* Var. vi. 26, v. 1.

15 In the plays more generally *tue*.

16 In the plays more generally *tui*.

	Singular	*Plural*
Abl.	मत्तो (मइत्तो ममादो -दु -हि)	अम्हाहिंतो सुतो
Gen.	मे मम मज्झ मह	मज्झ (?) णो अम्ह अम्हाण अम्हे
Loc	मइ (मए) ममम्मि	अम्हेसु

For the numerals, *see* Vararuchi, vi. 54 59

SECTION IV—VERBS.

Prākṛt has properly only one conjugation (=the first in Sanskṛt), though fragments of forms belonging to other conjugations frequently occur in the plays. The middle voice is very seldom used, and most middle verbs are conjugated actively There is no dual number, as has been already noticed in nouns.

The only tenses of the active voice which remain seem to be the present, the second future, and the imperative. Below we have given the verb *hasa*, adding in brackets those forms which though not in Vararuchi, occur in Hemachandra, the Sanksh Sāra, and the plays (*cf* Lassen).

Present

	Singular		*Plural*
1.	हसामि हसमि (हसम्हि)	1	हसामो मु -म हसिमो मु-म हसमो -मु -म (हसम्हो -म्ह)
2.	हससि	2	हसह (in prose हसध धं) हसित्था (हसत्थ)
3	हसदि[17] हसइ	3.	हसति

17 On the absence of this form in Vararuchi, Lassen has a remark (p 202) which it is important for the student of Vararuchi to bear in mind, viz, 'Consulto poni a grammaticis formas *maxime vulgares*, a poetis contra pro vario dicendi genere diversis locis alterutras præoptari'.

The middle voice has a second and third person singular, as *sahase*, *sahade*, or *sahae*.

Imperative

Singular	*Plural*
1. हसमु (Var. vii. 18)	1 हसामो -म हसमो -म (हसम्ह)
2. हससु (हसाहि हस हसस्स)	2 हसह (हसध धं)
3. हसदु हसउ	3. हसंतु

It should be added that, instead of *a*, *e* may be optionally used before any personal affix (vii. 34), as *hasemi*, etc., *hasedu*, etc. or, in other words, as is only *ay* contracted, Prākrt allows the verbs to imitate partially the tenth conjugation in Sanskrt.

The future has several forms in Prākrt.

[*a*] That most in use has the following terminations:—

Singular	1. स्सं स्सामि.	2. स्ससि	3. स्सदि
Plural	1. स्सामो.	2. स्सध, स्सह	3. स्संति

These are added to the root with the augment *i*, as *hasissam*, etc. The *ss* is, of course, only the Prākrt form of the Sanskrt *·y*.

[*b*] A second form gives the anomalous *chchh* for the characteristic *ss* of the future, as *sochchham* or *sochchhissam*, from *śru*, *vochchham* or *vochchhissam*, from *vach* (*cf.* Var., vii. 16, 17.)

[*c*] A third form changes the *ssa* to *hi*, as in *hasihimi*, etc. We have also such forms of the first person singular and plural as *hasihāmi* and *hasihāmo*. (Note also such forms as *kāham*, *dāham*, from *kr* and *dā*, Var., vii. 16)

[For the very rare forms with the inserted *jja* and *jjā*, in Var., vii. 20—22, as also for the rare preterite in *īa* and *hīa*, in Var., vii. 23—24, *See* Lassen's Inst., pp. 353—358.][1]

The Prākrt passive (vii. 8, 9) uses the active terminations, but, for the characteristic *y*, it prefixes *īa* or *ijja*, as *paḍhīai* or *paḍhijjaī* for *paṭhyate*. Occasionally the *y* of the Sanskrt form is retained, in which case it is of course assimilated to the preceding consonant, as *gammaī gamyate*, *dissaī*, or more commonly *dīsaī*, for *dṛśyate* (*cf.* also viii. 57, 58.)

There are two forms of the causal, one in which *ay*, the Sanskrt addition to the root, becomes *e*, as *kāredi* from *kara*=*kṛ* (an *a* in the first syllable of the root becoming *ā* by Var. vii. 26), the other in which *āve* (*ābe*?) is added, as *kārāvedi* or *karāvedi* (the *a* of the first syllable being only optionally lengthened, vii. 27, *cf.* note, transl.)

The infinitive ends in *tum*, if a consonant precedes (which is of course assimilated), and *dum*, if a vowel precedes, as *vattum*, from *vach*, *neduṁ*, from *ni*, the latter being the favourite form, an *i* or *e* is often inserted after a final consonant to produce it, the *d* is also often elided, as *haseum* or *hasium*, from *has*.

The indeclinable participle in *tva becomes tūna* or *ūna*, as *kāūna*, from *kā*=*kṛ*, that in *ya* becomes *ia*, and is usually the only form found in prose, even in the simple verb, as *genhia*, from *genh*=*grah*. In prose we find a few instances of *tvā* relaxed into *dua*, as *gadua* for *gatvā*, etc. (xii 10).

The present participle active ends in *anta* (or *enta* by vii. 34), as, *paḍhanta*, 'reciting' Vararuchi (vii. 11) allows a fem. form *paḍhai* as well as *paḍhantī*. The present

participle middle ends in *māna* (with fem. in *mānī* or *mānā*, v. 24.)

The passive allows the termination *nta* as well as well as *māna*, and usually prefixes *ijja*. The passive past participle generally adopts the Sanskrt form, and modifies this by the usual laws, as *suda* or *sua*=*sruta*, *laddha*=*labdha*, the augment *i* is frequently inserted (vii. 32)

The future passive participle in *ya*, generally assimilates the *y* to the preceding consonant, that in *anīya* becomes either *anīa* or *anijja*.

On the particles, etc. (Var. ix.) we have little to note, except that *iti* becomes *tti*, in which case a preceding *ā*, *ī*, or *ū* is shortened, *khalu* becomes *kkhu* after a short or common[18] vowel, and *khu* after a long vowel, and similarly *eva* becomes *jjevva* or *jevva* *iva* usually becomes *via* or *vva*, for *api* we have *vi* or *bi*

The above little sketch of Prākrt grammar will, it is hoped, contain all that the Sanskrt student will require to enable him to understand the Prākrt of Kālidāsa or Bhavabhūti, of course that of the Mrchchhakatikā is much harder. I cannot conclude better than with Professor Lassen's words, "Legitima veteris linguæ cognitio non multa dubia relinquet, cætera tum tenor locorum, tum tradita a grammaticis doctrina, illustrabit, quæ deinde incerta remaneant, accurata grammatica investigatio plerumque enodabit"

18 It is important to bear in mind that *e*, *o*, and a short vowel followed by anusvara are considered *common in Prakrt prosody*

The compiler would add that he originally made a similar one for his own use and found it sufficient for his purpose in reading Dr Trithen's edition of the Mahāviracharita, although there the Prakrit passages have no Sanskrit explanations subjoined.

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

जयति मदमुदितमधुकरमधुररुताकलनकूणितापाङ्गः।
करविहितगण्डकण्डूविनोदसुखितो गणाधिपतिः ॥ १ ॥
वररुचिरचितप्राकृतलक्षणसूत्राणि लक्ष्यमार्गेण।
बुद्ध्वा चकार वृत्तिं संक्षिप्तां भामहः स्पष्टां ॥ २ ॥

॥ आदेरतः ॥ १ ॥

अधिकारो ऽयं। यदित ऊर्द्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम आदेरतः स्थाने तद्भवतीत्येवं वेदितव्यं। आदेरित्येतद् आ परिच्छेदसमाप्तेः। अत इतिच आ अकारविधानात्। अत इति तकारग्रहणं सवर्णनिवृत्त्यर्थं[1]।

॥ आ समृद्ध्यादिषु वा ॥ २ ॥

समृद्धि इत्येवमादिषु शब्देष्वादेरकारस्य आकारो भवति वा। समिद्धी सामिद्धी। पअडं पाअडं। अहिजाई आहिजाई। मणंसिणी माणंसिणी। पडिवआ पाडिवआ। सरिच्छं सारिच्छं। पडिसिद्धी पाडिसिद्धी। पसुत्तं पासुत्तं। पसिद्धी पासिद्धी। अस्सो आसो[2] ॥ समृद्धि। प्रकट। अभिजाति। मनस्विणी। प्रतिपत्। सदृक्ष। प्रतिस्पर्द्धिन्[3]। प्रसुप्त। प्रसिद्धि। अश्व ॥ आकृतिगणो ऽयं ॥

॥ इदीषत्पक्वस्वप्नवेतसव्यजनमृदङ्गाङ्गारेषु ॥ ३ ॥

ईषदादिषु शब्देषु आदेरतः स्थाने इकारादेशो भवति। वेति

1 अत—र्थं deest in A, *cf.* Pánini, i., 1. 70. 2 So C; ABDEW आसो. 3 MSS. प्रतिस्पर्द्धि; *cf.* Lass. Inst., p. 265.

निवृत्तं ॥ इसि[4]। पिक्कं। सिविणो। वेडिसो[5]। विअणो। मुदंगो[6]। इंगालो ॥

॥ लोपो ऽरण्ये ॥ ४ ॥

अरण्यशब्दे आदेरतो लोपो भवति ॥ रण्ण ॥

॥ ए शय्यादिषु ॥ ५ ॥

शय्या इत्येवमादिषु शब्देषु आदेरत एकारादेशो भवति ॥ सेज्जा। सुंदेरं[7]। उक्केरो। तेरहो। अच्छेरं। पेरन्तं। वेल्ली ॥ शय्या। सौन्दर्य। उत्कर। त्रयोदश। आश्चर्य। पर्यन्त। वल्लि ॥

॥ ओ वदरे देन ॥ ६ ॥

वदरशब्दे दकारेण सहादेरत ओत्वं भवति ॥ वोर ॥

॥ लवणनवमल्लिकयोर्वेन ॥ ७ ॥

लवणनवमल्लिकयोरादेरतो वकारेण सह ओकारः स्यात् ॥ लोणं। णोमल्लिआ ॥

॥ मयूरमयूखयोर्य्या वा ॥ ८ ॥

मयूर मयूख इत्येतयोर्यूशब्देन सहादेरत ओत्वं वा भवति ॥ मोरो मऊरो। मोहो मऊहो ॥

॥ चतुर्थीचतुर्दश्योस्तुना ॥ ९ ॥

एतयोस्तुना सहादेरत ओत्वं भवति वा ॥ चोत्थी चउत्थी। चोद्दही चउद्दही ॥

॥ अदातो यथादिषु वा ॥ १० ॥

अत इति निवृत्तं स्थान्यंतरनिर्देशात्[8]। यथा इत्येवमादिष्वातः स्थाने अकारादेशो भवति वा ॥ जह जहा। तह तहा। पत्थरो

4 W (and Hema-ch.) ईसि. 5 AB विडिसो *cf.* II., 8
6 B मिदंगो. 7 MSS.-रो. 8 स्था- deest in A.

पत्थारो । पउअं पाउअं । तलवेण्टअं तालवेण्टअं । उक्खअं उक्खाअं । चमरं चामरं । पहरो पहारो । चडु चाडु । दवग्गी[9] दावग्गी । खइअं खाइअं । संठविअं संठाविअं । हलिओ[10] हालिओ ॥ यथा । तथा । प्रस्तार । प्राकृत । तालवृन्तक । उत्खात । चामर । प्रहार । चाटु । दावाग्नि । खादित । संस्थापित । हालिक ॥

इत्सदादिषु ॥ ११ ॥

सदा इत्येवमादिषु आत इकारो भवति वा ॥ सइ सआ । तइ तआ । जइ जआ ॥ सदा । तदा । यदा ॥

॥ इत एत्पिण्डसमेषु ॥ १२ ॥

पिण्ड इत्येवंसमेषु इकारस्य एकारादेशो भवति वा । पेण्डं पिण्डं । णेद्दा णिद्दा । सेंदूरं सिंदूरं । धम्मेल्लं धम्मिल्लं । चेंधं[11] चिंधं । वेण्हू विण्हू । पेट्ठं पिट्ठं ॥ पिण्ड । निद्रा । सिंदूर । धम्मिल्ल । चिह्न । विष्णु । पिष्ट ॥ समग्रहणं संयोगपरस्योपलक्षणार्थं ॥

॥ अत्पथिहरिद्रापृथिवीषु ॥ १३ ॥

पथ्यादिषु शब्देष्विकारस्य अकारो भवति[12] ॥ पहो । हलद्दा । पुहवी ॥

॥ इतेस्तः पदादेः ॥ १४ ॥

पदादेरितिशब्दस्य यस्तकारस्तस्मात्परस्य इकारस्य अकारो भवति ॥ इअ उअह अण्णहुवअणं[13] । इअ विअसंतीउ चिरं[14] ॥ इति पश्य तान्यथावचनं ॥ इति विकसंत्यश्चिरं ॥ पदादेरिति

9 *So* ACDW ; B. *n.l.* 10 B हल्लिओ. 11 A चेधं चिधं ; W om. ; *cf.* III. 34. 12 A (not C) adds *vá* 13 A इअ उअह अणसवअणं B -अम्मह- अवआणं D -अणहवअणं W इअ उवद अंणहावअणं ; A has no Sans. explanation. 14 A विसंतिउ ; C विअमंतिउ ; W has विल6तीओ = विलसंत्यः AC have no Sans. explanation.

वचनादिह न भवति ॥ पिओत्ति[15] ॥ प्रिय इति ॥

॥ उदिक्षुवृश्चिकयोः ॥ १५ ॥

इक्षुवृश्चिकयोरित उत्वं भवति ॥ उच्छू । विञ्छुओ[16] ॥

॥ ओच द्विधाकृञः ॥ १६ ॥

कृञ्धातुप्रयोगे द्विधाशब्दस्यौकारो[17] भवति । चकारादुत्वं च ॥ द्विधाकृतं । दोहाइअं । दुहाइअं ॥ द्विधा क्रियते । दोहाइज्जइ ।[18] दुहाइज्जइ ॥

॥ ईत्सिंहजिह्वयोश्च ॥ १७ ॥

एतयोरादेरिकारस्य ईकारो भवति ॥ सीहो[19] । जीहा ॥ चकारोऽनुक्तसमुच्चयार्थः । तेन वीसत्थ वीसम्भ इत्येवमादिषु ईत्वं भवति ॥

॥ इदीतः पानीयादिषु ॥ १८ ॥

पानीय इत्येवमादिष्वादेरीकारस्य इकारो भवति ॥ पाणिअं । अलिअं[20] । वलिअं । तआणिं[21] । करिसो । दुइअं[22] । तइअं । गहिरं ॥ पानीय । अलीक । व्यलीक । तदानीं । करीष । द्वितीय । तृतीय । गभीर ॥

॥ एन्नीडापीडकीदृशीदृशेषु ॥ १९ ॥

नीडादिषु ईकारस्य एकारो भवति ॥ णेड्डं[23] । आपेलो[24] । केरिसो । एरिसो ॥

15 A पिओत्ति. 16 A पिछुओ W विश्चुओ ; D *n.l.*: *cf.* Lass. Inst., p. 110. 17 DW add इतः before ओकारो. 18 इ (?) CW ई ; BD इत्. 19 AW सींहो ; *cf.* Lass. Inst., p., 270. 20 BDW add विलिअं=व्रीडितं. 21 A (not C) तआणिं. 22 A विइअं ; *cf.* Lass. Inst., p. 257. 23 All but BE णेडं. 24 BD आमेडो : *cf.* II., 16, and Lass. Inst., App., pp. 49, 70.

॥ उत ओत्तुण्डरूपेषु ॥ २० ॥

तुण्ड इत्येवंरूपेषु आदेरुकारस्य ओकारो भवति॥ तोण्डं। मोत्ता। पोक्खरो। पोत्थओ। लोद्धओ। कोट्टिमं॥ तुण्ड। मुक्ता। पुष्कर। पुस्तक। लुब्धक। कुट्टिम॥ रूपग्रहणं संयोगपरोपलक्षणार्थं॥

॥ उलूखले ल्वा वा[25] ॥ २१ ॥

उलूखलशब्दे लूशब्देन सह उकारस्य ओकारो भवति वा। ओक्खल। उलूहल[26]॥

॥ अन्मुकुटादिषु ॥ २२ ॥

मुकुट इत्येवमादिष्वादेरुकारस्य स्थाने अकारो भवति[27]॥ मउडं। मउलं। गरुअं। गरुई। जहिट्ठिलो[28]। सोअमल्लं। अवरि॥ मुकुट। मुकुल। गुरु। गुर्वी। युधिष्ठिर। सौकुमार्य। उपरि॥

॥ इत्पुरुषे रोः ॥ २३ ॥

पुरुषशब्दे यो रेफस्तस्य उकारस्य इकारो भवति॥ पुरिसो॥

॥ उद्रूतो मधूके ॥ २४ ॥

मधूकशब्दे ऊकारस्य उकारो भवति॥ महुअं॥

॥ अदुकूले वा लस्य द्वित्वं ॥ २५ ॥

दुकूलशब्दे ऊकारस्य अकारो भवति वा। तत्संयोगेन लकारस्य द्वित्वं॥ दुअल्लं दुऊलं॥

॥ एन्नूपुरे ॥ २६ ॥

नूपुरशब्दे ऊकारस्य एकारो भवति॥ णेउरं॥

25 C D उलूखले ल्वा वा and similarly in Comm. 26 A उलूहलं, DC उलूहल. 27 W adds इति निरणं। 28 A जहिट्ठिलो.

॥ ऋतो ऽत् ॥ २७ ॥

आदेर्ऋकारस्य अकारो भवति ॥ तणं। घणा। मअं। कअं। वद्धो। वसहो ॥ तृण। घृणा। मृत। कृत। वृद्ध। वृषभ ॥

॥ इदृष्यादिषु ॥ २८ ॥

ऋष्यादिषु शब्देषु आदेर्ऋकारस्य इकारो भवति ॥ इसी। विसी। गिट्ठी। दिट्ठी। सिट्ठी। सिंगारो। मिअंको। भिंगो। भिंगारो। हिअअं। विइण्हो[29]। विंहिअं। किसरो। किच्चा। विंछुओ[30]। सिआलो। किई। किसी। किवा ॥ ऋषि। वृषी। गृष्टि। दृष्टि। सृष्टि। शृंगार। मृगांक। भृंग। भृंगार। हृदय। वितृष्ण। बृंहित। कृशर। कृत्या। वृश्चिक। शृगाल। कृति। कृषि। कृपा ॥

॥ उदृत्वादिषु ॥ २९ ॥

ऋतु इत्येवमादिषु आदेर्ऋत उकारो भवति ॥ उदू। मुणालो। पुहवी। वुंदावणं। पाउसो। पउत्ती। विउदं[31]। संवुदं। णिव्वुदं। वुत्तंतो। परहुओ। माउओ। जामाउओ ॥ ऋतु। मृणाल। पृथिवी। वृंदावन। प्रावृष्। विवृत। प्रवृत। संवृत्ति। निर्वृत। वृत्तांत। परभृत। मातृक। जामातृक। इत्येवमादयः ॥

॥ अयुक्तस्य रिः[32] ॥ ३० ॥

वर्णांतरेण युक्तस्यादेर्ऋकारस्य रिकारो भवति ॥ रिणं। रिद्धो। रिच्छो ॥

॥ क्वचिद्युक्तस्यापि ॥ ३१ ॥

वर्णांतरेण युक्तस्यापि क्वचिदृकारस्य रिकारो भवति ॥ परिसो। सरिसो। तारिसो ॥

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29 A (not C) विइहादो. 30 ADW गिछुओ; C विंछुओ; B विंचओ; *cf.* i., 15. 31 BW विवुदं; *cf.* ii., 7. 32 A gives the Sútra ऋरीति.

॥ वृक्षे वेन रुर्वा ॥ २२ ॥

वृक्षशब्देन वशब्देन सह ऋकारस्य रुकारो भवति वा ॥ रुक्खो। वच्छो ॥ व्यवस्थितविभाषाज्ञापनात् छत्वपक्षे न भवति रुत्वपक्षे तु नित्यमेव भवति ॥

॥ ऌतः[33] क्लृप्त इलिः ॥ २३ ॥

क्लृप्तशब्दे ऌकारस्य इलीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ किलित्तं ॥ तदेवमादेशांतरविधानात् प्राकृते ऋकारऌकारौ न भवतः ॥

॥ एत इद्वेदनादेवरयोः ॥ २४ ॥

वेदनादेवरयोरेकारस्य इकारो भवति[34] ॥ विअणा। दिअरो ॥ वाग्रहणानुवृत्तेः क्वचिद् वेअणा। देअरो। इत्यपि ॥

॥ ऐत एत् ॥ २५ ॥

आदेरैकारस्य एकारो भवति ॥ सेलो। सेच्चं[35]। एरावणो। केलासो। तेल्लोक्कं ॥ शैल। शैत्य। ऐरावत। कैलास। त्रैलोक्य ॥

॥ दैत्यादिष्वइ ॥ २६ ॥

दैत्यादिषु शब्देषु ऐकारस्य अइ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ दइच्चो। चइत्तो। भइरवो। सइरं। वइरं। वइदेसो। वइदेहो। कइअवो। वइसाहो। वइसिओ। वइसंपाअण ॥ दैत्य। चैत्र। भैरव। स्वैर। वैर। वैदेश। वैदेह। कैतव। वैशाख। वैशिक। वैशम्पायन। इत्यादयः ॥

॥ दैवे वा ॥ २७ ॥

दैवशब्दे ऐकारस्य अइ इत्ययमादेशो भवति वा ॥ दइवं। देव्वं ॥ अनादेशपक्षे नीडादित्वाद् द्वित्वं[36] ॥

॥ इत्सैन्धवे ॥ २८ ॥

C ऋति. 33 AC ऌ. 34 A (not C) very corrupt in the Comm. and examples. 35 D सेचं; AB सेग्गं; cf. Lass. App., p. 66. W has सेग्गं = सैन्य. 36 cf. III., 52.

सैन्धवशब्दे ऐकारस्य इकारो भवति ॥ सिंधवं ॥

॥ ईद्धैर्ये ॥ ३९ ॥

धैर्यशब्दे ऐकारस्य ईकारो भवति ॥ धीरं ॥

॥ ओतोऽद्वा प्रकोष्ठे कस्य वः ॥ ४० ॥

प्रकोष्ठशब्दे ओकारस्य अकारो भवति वा । तत्संयोगेनच ककारस्य वत्वं ॥ पवट्ठो पओट्ठो पओट्ठो ॥

॥ औत ओत् ॥ ४१ ॥

औकारस्य आदेरोकारो भवति ॥ कोमुई । जोव्वणं । कोत्थुहो । कोसंबी ॥ कौमुदी । यौवनं । कौस्तुभः । कौशाम्बी ॥

॥ पौरादिष्वउ ॥ ४२ ॥

पौर इत्येवमादिषु शब्देषु औकारस्य अउ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ पउरो । कउरओ[37] । पउरिसो[38] ॥ पौर । कौरव । पौरुष । आकृतिगणोऽयं ॥ कौशले विकल्पः[39] ॥ कोसलो । कउसलो ॥ कौशल ॥

॥ आच्च गौरवे ॥ ४३ ॥

गौरवशब्दे औकारस्य आकारो भवति । चकारादउत्वंच ॥ गारवं । गउरवं ॥

॥ उत्सौंदर्यादिषु ॥ ४४ ॥

सौंदर्य इत्येवमादिषु औकारस्य उकारो भवति ॥ सुंदेरं[40] । मुंजाअणो । सुंडो । कुक्खेअओ । दुव्वारिओ[41] ॥ सौंदर्य । मौंजायन । शौंड । कौक्षेयक । दौवारिक ॥

॥ इति वररुचिकृते प्राकृतप्रकाशे अज्विधिर्नाम ॥

॥ प्रथमः परिच्छेदः ॥

37 BD कउरवा. 38 AW पउरुसो ; B पउरिसो ; CD पउरसो.
39 Only W has कौशले वा as a new sutra. 40 ACW सुंदेरो.
41 CW दुवारिओ.

॥ अथ द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः ॥

॥ अयुक्तस्यानादौ ॥ १ ॥

अधिकारोऽयं। इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तदयुक्तस्य व्यंजनस्यानादौ वर्तमानस्य कार्यं भवतीत्येवं वेदितव्यं। वक्ष्यति कादीनां लोपः॥ मउडं॥ अयुक्तस्येति किं। अग्घो[1]। अक्को॥ अनादाविति किं। कमलं॥ अयुक्तस्येति। आ परिच्छेदसमाप्तेः॥ अनादाविति च। आ जकारविधानात्[2]॥

॥ कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लोपः ॥ २ ॥

कादीनां नवानां वर्णानामयुक्तानामनादौ वर्तमानानां प्रायो बाहुल्येन लोपो भवति॥ कस्य तावत्। मउलो। णउलं[3]॥ गस्य। साअरो। णअरं॥ चस्य। वअणं। सूई॥ जस्य। गओ। रअदं॥ तस्य। कअं। विआणं॥ दस्य। गआ। मओ॥ पस्य। कई। विउलं। सुउरिसो॥ सुपुरुष[4] इति यद्यपि उत्तरपदस्य पुरुषशब्दस्यादिस्तथापि लोपो भवतीत्यनेन ज्ञापयति वृत्तिकारः यथा उत्तरपदादिरनादिरेवेति॥ यस्य। वाउणा[5]। णअणं॥ वस्य। जीअं[6]। दिअहो॥ मुकुल। नकुल। सागर। नगर। वचन। सूची। गज। रजत। कृत। वितान। गदा। मद। कपि। विपुल। सुपुरुष। वायुना। नयन। जीव। दिवस॥

प्रायोग्रहणाद्यत्र श्रुतिसुखमस्ति तत्र न भवत्येव॥ सुकुसुमं। पिअगमणं। सचावं[7]। अवजसं[8]। अतुलं। आदरो। अपारो। अजसो।

1 A घं (altered from its old reading); W अग्घो.
2 AC जोकारविधानात्; D प्राक्- ; cf. S. 31. 3 W णउलो.
4 AC पुरिस. 5 BDW वाओ = वायु. 6 For जीअं see iv., 5; DW जीओ. 7 B सचावं; D सच्चावं. 8 BW (and A originally)

सवहमाणं[9] ॥ सुकुसुम । प्रियगमन । सचाप । अपजल अतुल । आदर । अपार । अयशस् । सबहुमान ॥

अयुक्तस्येत्येव ॥ सक्को । मग्गो[10] ॥ शक । मार्ग ॥

अनादावित्येव ॥ कालो । गंधो ॥ काल । गंध ॥

॥ यमुनायां यस्य ॥ ३ ॥

यमुनाशब्दे मकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥ जउणा ॥

॥ स्फटिकनिकषचिकुरेषु कस्य हः [11] ॥४ ॥

अनादाविति वर्त्तते । एषु कस्य हकारो भवति । लोपापवादः ॥ फलिहो । णिहसो । चिहुरो ॥

॥ शीकरे भः ॥ ५ ॥

शीकरशब्दे ककारस्य भकारो भवति ॥ सीभरो ॥

॥ चंद्रिकायां मः ॥ ३ ॥

॥ चंद्रिकाशब्दे ककारस्य मकारो भवति ॥ चंदिमा ॥

॥ ऋत्वादिषु तो दः ॥ ७ ॥

ऋतु इत्येवमादिषु तकारस्य दकारो भवति ॥ उदू । रअदं । आअदो । णिव्वुदी । आउदी[12] । संदुदी । सुइदो । आइदी । हदो । संजदो । विउदं[13] । संजादो । संपदि[14] । पडिवद्दी[15] ॥ ऋतु । रजत ।

अवजलं D अप-. 9 Altered to सवहुवाणं in A, D has सुवसणं. 10 DW add several more examples not in ABC, e. g., अथा, etc. 11 A निकश-; DW give the sutra स्फटिकनिकषविकलविकटचिकुरेषु कस्य हः and add in the Comm. the Prákrt forms विहलो । विहडो । (D विहरो). 12 B omits आउदी । आइदी । संजादो । 13 B विवुदं. 14 A संपदी. 15 AC पदिवत्ती ; DW पडिवत्ती ; E पडिवद्दी B omits it; this ex cannot properly belong to this sútra, yet it seems to be confirmed by the Sanksh.

आगत। निर्वृति। आवृति। संवृति। सुकृति। आकृति। हत। संयत। विवृत। संयात। संप्रति। प्रतिपत्ति॥

॥ प्रतिसरवेतसपताकासु डः[16] ॥ ८ ॥

एषु शब्देषु तकारस्य डकारो भवति। लोपापवादः॥ पडिसरो। वेडिसो। पडाआ॥

॥ वसतिभरतयोर्हः ॥ ९ ॥

वसतिभरतशब्दयोस्तकारस्य हकारो भवति॥ वसही। भरहो॥

॥ गर्भिते णः ॥ १० ॥

गर्भितशब्दे तकारस्य णकारो भवति॥ गब्भिणं[17]॥

॥ ऐरावतेच ॥ ११ ॥

ऐरावतशब्दे तकारस्य णकारो भवति॥ एरावणो॥

॥ प्रदीप्तकदंबदोहदेषु दो[18] लः ॥ १२ ॥

एषु शब्देषु दकारस्य लकारो भवति॥ पलित्तं। कलंबो। दोहलो[19]॥

॥ गद्गदे रः ॥१३ ॥

गद्गदशब्दे दकारस्य रेफादेशो भवति॥ गग्गरो॥

॥ संख्यायांच ॥ १४ ॥

संख्यावाचिनि शब्दे यो दकारस्तस्य रेफादेशो भवति॥

Sára, rule 71. 16 W reads प्रतिमाप्रतिसरप्रतिवेतसपताकासु डः. 17 BD गब्भिणी. 18 A omits दो. 19 AE दोहलो ; W-लं ; BD धोहलो ; B then adds अनादावित्युक्तेः दोहद इत्यत्रापदस्यादेर्न लकारः किंतु दोहदेन बहुलपाठेन दकारः। धोहल अभ्यन्तरो हि उदाहरण' (!)। ; cf. S. 40, and S. 38, note ; the Sanksh. Sára has a rule (92) दो लोऽग्न्यादेः। पलित्तं। दोहलं' ; see Lass. Inst., p. 197.

एआरह[20]। बारह। तेरह॥ एकादश। द्वादश। त्रयोदश॥ अयुक्तस्येत्येव चउद्दह[21]॥

॥ पो वः ॥ १५ ॥

पकारस्यायुक्तस्यानादिवर्तिनो वकारादेशो भवति॥ सावो। सवहो। उलवो। उवसग्गो[22]॥ शाप। शपथ। उलप। उपसर्ग॥ प्रायोग्रहणाद्यत्र लोपो न भवति तत्रायं विधिः॥

॥ आपीडे मः ॥ १६ ॥

आपीडशब्दे पकारस्य मकारो भवति॥ आमेलो[23]॥

॥ उत्तरीयानीययोर्जो[24] वा ॥ १७ ॥

उत्तरीयशब्दे अनीयप्रत्ययांतेच यस्य ज्जो[25] भवति वा॥ उत्तरीअं[26]। उत्तरिज्जं[27]। रमणीअं। रमणिज्जं। भरणीअं। भरणिज्जं॥

॥ छायायां हः ॥ १८ ॥

छायाशब्दे यकारस्य हकारो भवति॥ छाहा॥

॥ कबंधे वो मः ॥ १९ ॥

कबंधशब्दे वकारस्य मकारो भवति॥ कमंधो॥

॥ टो डः ॥ २० ॥

टस्यानादिवर्तिनो डकारो भवति॥ णडो। विडवो॥

॥ सटाशकटकैटभेषु[28] ढः[29] ॥ २१ ॥

एतेषु टकारस्य ढकारो भवति॥ सढा। सअढो। केढवो॥

20 A-रहं; W-हो. 21 Added from BDW. 22 A om. 23 W आमीलो. 24 A जो; BC ज्जो; DE यस्य ज्जो; W यस्य जो. 25 ACW ज्जो; BD ज्जो. 26 A reads *syaṃ* in all the examples; W expressly adds *pakṣe yalopaḥ*. 27 BD उत्तरीज्ज°. 28 A- -सकट-. 29 BEW (and probably AD, but these are not so

॥ स्फटिके लः ॥ २२ ॥

स्फटिकशब्दे टकारस्य लकारो भवति ॥ फलिहो ॥

॥ डस्य च ॥ २३ ॥

डकारस्यायुक्तस्यानादिभूतस्य लकारो भवति ॥ दालिमं । तलाअं[30] । वलही ॥ प्राय इत्येवं ॥ दाडिमं । वडिसं[31] । णिविडो ॥

॥ ठो ढः[32] ॥ २४ ॥

ठकारस्यायुक्तस्यानादिभूतस्य ढकारो भवति ॥ मढं[33] । जढरं । कढोरं ॥

॥ अंकोठे[34] ल्लः ॥ २५ ॥

अंकोठशब्दे ठकारस्य ल्लकारो भवति ॥ अंकोल्लो ॥

॥ फो भः ॥ २६ ॥

फकारस्यायुक्तस्यानादिभूतस्य भकारो भवति ॥ सिभा । सेभालिआ । सभरी । सभलं ॥

॥ खघथधभां हः ॥ २७ ॥

खादीनां पंचानामयुक्तानामनादिवर्तिनां हकारो भवति ॥ खस्य तावत् ॥ मुहं । मेहला ॥ घस्य ॥ मेहो । जहणो[35] ॥ थस्य ॥ गाहा । सवहो ॥ धस्य ॥ राहा । बहिरो ॥ भस्य ॥ सहा । रासहो ॥ प्राय इत्येव ॥ पखलो[36] । पलंघणो[37] । अधीरो । अधणो । उवलद्धभावो ॥

clear) ढः and similarly in the ex. . E has in Sut. टो ढः ; the Sanksh. Sára has ढ ; see Lass. Inst., p. 209. 30 BDW and probably A तलाअं. 31 A om. 32 WDE have the ढ throughout ; the other MSS. vary between ढ and ट ; cf. Lass. Inst. p. 209. 33 BW मढो ; BDW add गढ=गढ. 34 W अङ्कोटे. 35 ACDE जहणो ; BW -णं. 36 Obscure in AB, but plain in DE. 37 Plain in CDE ; DE add the Sans. interpr. ; W has several different examples.

मुख । मेखला । मेघ । जघन । गाथा । शपथ । राधा । बधिर । सभा । रासभ । प्रखल । प्रलंघन । अधीर । अधन । उपलब्धभाव ॥

॥ प्रथमशिथिलनिषधेषु ढः[38] ॥ २८ ॥

एतेषु थधयोर्ढकारो भवति ॥ पढमो । सिढिलो । णिसढो ॥ णिसढो ॥

॥ कैटभे वः ॥ २९ ॥

कैटभशब्दे भकारस्य वकारो भवति ।। कुढवो[39] ॥

॥ हरिद्रादीनां रो लः ॥ ३० ॥

हरिद्रा इत्येवमादीनांरेफस्य लकारो भवति ॥ हलद्दा[40] । चलणो । मुहलो । जहिट्ठिलो । सोमालो[41] । कलुणं । अंगुली । इंगालो । चिलादो[42] । फलिहा । फलिहो ॥ हरिद्रा । चरण । मुखर । युधिष्ठिर । सुकुमार । करुण । अंगुरी । अंगार । किरात । परिखा । परिघ । इत्येवमादयः ॥

॥ आदेर्यो जः ॥ ३१ ॥

अनादेरिति निवृत्तं ॥ आदिभूतस्य यकारस्य जकारो भवति ॥ जट्ठी[43] । जसो । जक्खो ॥ यष्टि । यशस् । यक्ष ॥

॥ यष्ट्यां लः ॥ ३२ ॥

यष्टिशब्दे यकारस्य लकारो भवति ॥ लट्ठी ॥

38 We have ढ plainly throughout, and so mostly A; but the other MSS. confuse it with ठ, D has ढ twice; *cf.* Lass. Inst., p. 209, and Sanksh. Sára, S. 60. 39 W केटवो 40 A हलिद्दा, but the ल is a later insertion, and contradicts 1., 13, and the other MSS. 41 So need ABCDE Hemach., and the Prāk Sanj. W has *Snumālo*; note translation page 16. 42 A विलादो; W कि-. 43 D महुजट्ठी and adds the Sans. मधुयष्टि; *cf.* Lass., Inst., p. 100; W om.

॥ किराते चः[44] ॥ ३३ ॥

किरातशब्दे आदेर्वर्णस्य चकारो भवति ॥ चिलादो[45] ॥

॥ कुब्जे खः ॥ ३४ ॥

कुब्जशब्दे आदेर्वर्णस्य खकारो भवति ॥ खुज्जो ॥

॥ दोलादंण्डदशनेषु डः ॥ ३५ ॥

एषु आदेर्वर्णस्य डकारो भवति ॥ डोला[46] । डंडो । डसणो ॥

॥ परुषपरिघपरिखासु फः[47] ॥ ३६ ॥

एतेष्वादेर्वर्णस्य फकारो भवयि ॥ फरुसो । फलिहो । फलिहा ॥

॥ पनसे ऽपि[48] ॥ ३७ ॥

पनसशब्दे ऽपि पकारस्य फकारो भवति ॥ फणसो ॥

॥ बिसिन्यां भः ॥ ३८ ॥

बिसिनीशब्दे आदेर्वर्णस्य भकारो भवति ॥ भिसिणी ॥ स्त्रीलिंगनिर्देशादिह न भवति ॥ बिसं[49] ॥

॥ मन्मथे वः ॥ ३९ ॥

मन्मथशब्दे आदेर्वर्णस्त वकारो भवति ॥ वम्महो ॥

॥ लाहले[50] णः ॥ ४० ॥

लाहलशब्दे आदेर्वर्णस्य णकारो भवति ॥ णाहलो[51] ॥

॥ षट्शावकसप्तपर्णाना छः ॥ ४१ ॥

44 BC च, W व, च, A not plain. 45 The च is plain in BCD, W has व 46 A डोलो. 47 W पुरुष- 48 DE om. sútra 37 and Comm 49 After sútra 38, W gives a sútra, found also in Hema-ch., (*cf.* sutra 40) लाहललाङ्गललांगूलेषु वा ण with ex. णाहलो । लाहलो । णंगलं । लांगलो । णगुलं । 50 ABC लाहले, DE सोहले, W लाहने (in Comm. लाहान). 51 ABC णाहलो, DE णिहलो; W णाहणो; *cf.* *Lass. Inst*, p 197 and notes to s 12 and s 36, *supra*.

एतेषामादेर्वर्णस्य छकारो भवति ॥ छट्ठी । छम्मुहो । छावओ । छत्तवसो ॥ षष्ठी । षण्मुख । शावक । सप्तपर्ण ॥

॥ नो णः सर्वत्र[52] ॥ ४२ ॥

आदेरिति निवृत्तं । सर्वत्र नकारस्य णकारो भवति ॥ णई । कणअं । वअणं । माणुसो[53] ॥

॥ शषोः सः ॥ ४३ ॥

सर्वत्र शकारषकारयोः सकारो भवति ॥ शस्य ॥ सद्दो[54] । णिसा । अंकुसो[55] ॥ षस्य ॥ संढो[56] । वसहो । कसाअं ॥

॥ दशादिषु हः ॥ ४४ ॥

दश इत्येवमादिषु शकारस्य हकारो भवति ॥ दह[57] । एआरह । बारह । तेरह ॥

॥ संज्ञायां वा ॥ ४५ ॥

संज्ञायां गम्यमानायां वा दशशब्दे शस्य हत्वं भवति ॥ दहमुहो दसमुहो । दहबल दसबलो । दहरहो दसरहो ॥

॥ दिवसे सस्य ॥ ४६ ॥

दिवसशब्दे सकारस्य हकारो भवति[58] ॥ दिअहो[59] ॥

॥ स्नुषायां ण्हः[60] ॥ ४७ ॥

स्नुषाशब्दे षकारस्य ण्हकारो भवति ॥ सोण्हा[61] ॥

॥ इति वररुचिकृते प्राकृतप्रकाशे अयुक्तवर्णविधिर्नाम
द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः ॥

52 W only नो णः. 53 Altered in A to माणंसिणी ; BDW add अयुक्तस्येति किं । कन्दरा । अन्तरं. 54 A सद्दो. 55 A अंसो. 56 W संटो ; the other MSS. are indistinct between -ढो and -टो cf. ii., 24. 57 W दहो etc. 58 DW add वा. 59 DW add दिअसो ; cf. Lass. Inst., p. 219. 60 W=न्ह. 61 BD add a reference to i., 20.

॥ अथ तृतीयः परिच्छेदः ॥

॥ उपरिलोपः कगडतदपषसां ॥ १ ॥

कादीनामष्टानां युक्तस्योपरिस्थितानां लोपो भवति ॥ कस्य तावत् ॥ भत्तं । सित्थओ ॥ गस्य । मुद्धो । सिणिद्धो ॥ डस्य । खग्गो । सज्जो[1] । तस्य । उप्पलं । उप्पाओ[2] ॥ दस्य । मुग्गा । मुग्गरो ॥ पस्य । सुत्तो । पज्जत्तो[3] ॥ षस्य । गोट्ठी[4] । णिट्ठुरो ॥ सस्य । खलिअं । णेहो ॥ भक्त । सिक्थक । मुग्ध । स्निग्ध । खड्ग । षड्ज । उत्पल । उत्पात । मुद्ग । मुद्गर । सुप्त । पर्याप्त । गोष्ठी । निष्ठुर । स्खलित । स्नेह ॥

॥ अधो मनयां ॥ २ ॥

मकारनकारयकाराणां युक्तस्याधः स्थितानां लोपो भवति ॥ मस्य । सोस्मं[5] । रस्सी । जुग्गं । वग्गी[6] ॥ नस्य ॥ णग्गो ॥ यस्य ॥ सोम्मो । जोग्गो ॥

॥ सर्वत्र लवरां ॥ ३ ॥

लकारवकाररेफाणां युक्तस्योपर्यधःस्थितानां लोपो भवति ॥ लस्य ॥ उक्का । वक्कलं । विक्कवो ॥ वस्य ॥ लोद्धओ[7] । पिक्क[8] ॥ रस्य ॥ अक्को । सक्को ॥ उल्का । वल्कल । विक्लव । लुब्धक । पक्व । अर्क । शक्र ॥

॥ द्रे रो वा ॥ ४ ॥

द्रशब्दे रेफस्य वा लोपो भवति ॥ दोहो ॥ द्रोहो ॥ चंदो । चंद्रो ॥ रुद्दो । रुद्रो ॥

1 Added from BDW. 2 Altered in A to-त्तं Added from BDW. 4 So in all the MSS. 5 W सोस्सो (wanting in BD) which it explains by सोष्म. 6 A वाग्गी (wanting in BDW). 7 A originally लोढवो, like B ; W लुदश्रो : cf. i., 20. 8 BD add सद्दो=शब्द.

॥ सर्वज्ञतुल्येषु ञः[9] ॥ ५ ॥

सर्वज्ञतुल्येषु ञकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥ सव्वज्जो । इंगिअज्जो[10] ॥ जानातेर्यान्येवंरूपाणि तत्र ञलोपः[11] ॥

॥ श्मश्रुश्मशानयोरादेः ॥ ६ ॥

श्मश्रुश्मशानयोरादेर्वर्णस्य लोपो भवति ॥ मस्सू[12] । मसाणं ॥

॥ मध्याह्ने हस्य ॥ ७ ॥

मध्याह्नशब्दे हकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥ मज्झण्णो[13] ॥

॥ ह्नह्लह्मेषु नलमां स्थितिरूर्ध्वं ॥ ८ ॥

ह्न ह्ल ह्म इत्येतेष्वधः स्थितानां नकारलकारमकाराणां स्थितिरूर्ध्वमुपरिष्टाद्भवति ॥ ह्नस्य ॥ पुव्वण्हो । अवरण्हो ॥ ह्लस्य । कल्हारं । अल्हादो ॥ ह्मस्य । बम्हणो ॥

॥ युक्तस्य[14] ॥ ९ ॥

अधिकारो ऽयं । आ परिच्छेदसमाप्तेर्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो युक्तस्येत्येवं वेदितव्यं ॥ वक्ष्यति । अस्थिनि अट्ठी ॥ युक्तग्रहणं हलो ऽन्त्यस्य[15] मा भूत् ॥

॥ ष्टस्य ठः ॥ १० ॥

ष्ट इत्येतस्य युक्तस्य ठकारो भवति ॥ लट्ठी । दिट्ठी ॥

॥ अस्थिनि ॥ ११ ॥

अस्थिशब्दे युक्तस्य ठकारो भवति ॥ अट्ठी ॥

9 This sútra corrupt AB (and in A the Comm. as well); CW षः; DE षस्य; BDEW agree in the Comm. and ex. 10 W adds मणोज्जो. 11 W अयं लोपः. 12 BWD मस्सू; X मस्सु. 13 E has ण्ण and so originally A; this is required by s. 50; *cf.* Boehtl. Sakunt., note p. 175; EW ण; D. *n.l.* 14 sútras 9, 10 and 11 are confused by Lasson. 15 हलोऽन्त्ये.

॥ स्तस्य थः ॥ १२ ॥

स्तशब्दस्य थकारो भवति। उपरिलोपापवादः॥ हत्थो। समत्थो। थुई[16]। थवओ। कोत्थुहो॥ हस्त। समस्त। स्तुति। स्तावक। कौस्तुभ॥

॥ न स्तंबे[17] ॥ १३ ॥

स्तंबशब्दे स्तकारस्य थकारो न भवति॥ तंबो॥

॥ स्तंभे खः ॥ १४ ॥

स्तंभशब्दे स्तकारस्य खकारो भवति॥ खंभो॥

॥ स्थाणावहरे ॥ १५ ॥

स्थाणुशब्दे युक्तस्य खकारो भवति। अहरे। हराभिधेये न भवति॥ खाणू॥ अहर इति किं॥ थाणू। हरो॥

॥ स्फोटके ॥ १६ ॥

स्फोटकशब्दे युक्तस्य खकारो भवति॥ खोडओ॥

॥ र्यशय्याभिमन्युषु जः[18] ॥ १७ ॥

र्य इत्यस्य शय्याभिमन्युशब्दयोश्च युक्तस्य जकारो भवति॥ कज्जं[19]। सेज्जा। अहिमज्जू[20]॥

16 So BDW; A's थुरही is corrupt; see Lass. Inst., p. 103. 17 This sútra with its Comm. is variously written: AC (and probably B originally) as above; DE (and B now) तः स्तंबे, with a Corresponding Comm. but the same ex.; W confuses sútras 13, 14.; the text of AC is the simplest, the स being elided by iii. 1. 18 So DE, and B has been altered to this; ACW read the sút., कार्यशय्याभिमन्युषु जः, and the Comm. एतेषु शब्देषु युक्तस्य, etc. The Sanksh. Sára follows DE in its two rules 115, 134, the latter being र्यस्य ज्जो। कज्जं. 19 The prák. Sanj reads sút. 17, as in text. A काज्जं. 20 So MSS.; cf. Lass. Inst.,

॥ तूर्यधैर्यसौंदर्याश्चर्यपर्यंतेषु रः ॥ १८ ॥

एतेषु शब्देषु र्यस्य रेफो भवति ॥ तूरं । धीरं । सुंदेरं ।[21] अच्छेरं । पेरंतं ॥

॥ सूर्ये वा ॥ १९ ॥

शूर्यशब्दे र्यकारस्य रेफादेशो भवति वा ॥ सूरो ।[22] सुज्जो ॥

॥ चौर्यसमेषु रिअं ॥ २० ॥

चौर्यसमेषु शब्देषु र्यस्य रिअं इत्यादेशो भवति ॥ चोरिअं । सोरिअं । वीरिअं ॥[23] चौर्य । शौर्य । वीर्य ॥ समग्रहणादाकृतिगणोऽयं ॥

॥ पर्यस्तपर्याणसौकुमार्येषु लः[24] ॥ २१ ॥

एषु शब्देषु र्यस्य लकारो भवति ॥ पल्लत्थं । पल्लाणं । सोअमल्लं ॥

॥ र्तस्य टः ॥ २२ ॥

र्त इत्येतस्य टकारो भवति ॥ केवट्टओ । णट्टओ । णट्टई ॥[25]

॥ पत्तने ॥ २३ ॥

पत्तनशब्दे त्तुस्य टकारो भवति ॥ पट्टणं ॥

॥ न धूर्तादिषु ॥ २४ ॥

धूर्त इत्येवमादिषु र्त इत्येतस्य टकारो न भवति ॥ धुत्तो । कित्ती । वत्तमाणं । वत्ता । आवत्तो । संवत्तओ । णिवत्तओ । वत्तिआ । अत्तो ।[26] कत्तरी । मुत्ती ॥ धूर्त । कीर्ति । वर्तमान । वार्त्ता । आवर्त संवर्तक । निवर्तक । वर्तिका । आर्त । कर्तरी । मूर्त्ति ॥

॥ गर्ते डः ॥ २५ ॥

App., p. 53, D adds a reference to iii., 50. 21 So MSS.; cf. i., 5. 22 D adds यामहणात् पूर्वयशय्यादिसूत्रसामान्येन जकारः स्यात् (added in B in margin). 23 BD विरिअं. 24 A ल्लः; for the doubling in the ex., cf. iii., 50, as in all such cases. 25 BW om.; D यद्द=वर्तते. 26 AW आत्तो

गर्तशब्दे र्तस्य डकारो भवति ॥ गड्डो ॥

॥ गर्दभसंमर्दवितर्दिविछर्दिषु र्दस्य[27] ॥ २६ ॥

एतेषु र्दस्य ड्डो भवति ॥ गड्डहो । संमड्डो । विअड्डी[28] । विछड्डी ॥

॥ त्यथ्यद्यां चछजाः[29] ॥ २७ ॥

त्यथ्यद्य इत्येतेषां चछज इत्येते यथासंख्यं भवंति ॥ त्यस्य ॥ णिच्चं ।[30] पच्चच्छं[31] ॥ थ्यस्य ॥ रच्छा । मिच्छा । पच्छं ॥ द्यस्य ॥ विज्जा । वेज्जं[32] ॥ नित्य । प्रत्यक्ष । रथ्या । मिथ्या । पथ्य । विद्या । वैद्य ॥

॥ ध्यह्योर्झः[33] ॥ २८ ॥

ध्य ह्य इत्येतयोर्झकारो भवति ॥ ध्यस्य ॥ मज्झं[34] । अज्झाओ ॥ ह्यस्य ॥ वज्झओ । गुज्झओ ॥ मध्य । अध्याय । वाह्यक । गुह्यक ॥

॥ ष्कस्कक्षां खः ॥ २९ ॥

ष्कस्कक्षां खकारो भवति ॥ ष्कस्य ॥ मुक्खं[35] । पोक्खरो ॥ स्कस्य ॥ खंदो । खंधो ॥ क्षस्य ॥ खदो । जक्खो ॥

॥ अक्ष्यादिषु छः ॥ ३० ॥

अक्षि इत्येवमादिषु क्षकारस्य छकारो भवति ॥ अच्छी । लच्छी ॥ छुण्णो । छीरं । छुद्दो[36] । उच्छित्तो । सरिच्छं । उच्छू । उच्छा । छारं । रिच्छो । मच्छिआ । छुअं । छुरं । छेत्तं । वच्छो । दच्छो । कुच्छी ॥

27 W adds विमर्द. 28 W adds विमड्डो. 29 A चच्छजाः; see note *s*. 21. 30 BDW सच्चं. 31 DE पच्चक्खं; AC seem to read पच्चखं; BW omit it; *Qy*. पच्चच्छं? see sūtra 30. 32 A विज्जं (?) 33 The स in A is only a rudely formed झ. 34 BD add संझा=संध्या. 35 W सोक्खं=शुष्क. 36 So BDW, with Sans. क्षुब्ध; A is not quite clear.

अक्षि । लक्ष्मी । क्षुण्ण । क्षीर । क्षुब्ध । उत्क्षिप्त । सदृक्ष । इक्षु । उक्षन् । क्षार । ऋक्ष । मक्षिका । क्षुत । क्षुर । क्षत । वक्षस्[37] । दक्ष । कुक्षि । इत्येवमादयः ॥

॥ क्षमावृक्षक्षणेषु वा ॥ २१ ॥

एतेषु क्षकारस्य छकारो भवति वा ॥ छमा । खमा ॥ वच्छो । रुक्खो ॥ छणं । खणं ॥ वृक्षशब्दे ऋकारस्याकारे कृते क्षणशब्दे चोत्सवाभिधायिनि छत्वमिष्यते[38] ॥

॥ ष्मपक्ष्मविस्मयेषु म्हः ॥ २२ ॥

ष्म इत्येतस्य पक्ष्मविस्मयशब्दयोश्च युक्तस्य म्हकारो भवति ॥ ष्मस्य ॥ गिम्हो । उम्हा । पम्हो । विम्हओ ॥ ग्रीष्म । उष्मन् । पक्ष्मन् । विस्मय ॥

॥ ह्नस्नष्णक्ष्णश्नां ण्हः[39] ॥ २३ ॥

ह्नादीनां ण्ह इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ ह्नस्य । वण्ही । जण्हू[40] ॥ स्नस्य ॥ ण्हाणं[41] । पण्हुदं ॥ ष्णस्य ॥ विण्हू । कण्हो ॥ क्ष्णस्य ॥ सण्हं । तिण्ह ॥ श्नस्य ॥ पण्हो । सिण्हो ॥ वह्नि । जह्नु । स्नान । प्रस्नुत । विष्णु । कृष्ण । श्लक्ष्ण । तीक्ष्ण । प्रश्न । शिश्न ॥

॥ चिह्ने न्धः ॥ २४ ॥

चिह्नशब्दे युक्तस्य न्ध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ चिन्धं[42] ॥

॥ ष्पस्य फः ॥ २५ ॥

37 AW वत्त , B वृत्त 38 DE add छणो here , W adds छुरेऽपि वेति केचित् । छुरो । खुरो । 39 BDW ह्न , A स्न wrongly ; AW transpose क्ष्ण and श्न in the sūtra, but A agrees with BD in the order of the examples 40 BD जण्ह , A जण्ही ; W जण्हई 41 Lass om. 42 A has a marginal addition चिण्होऽपि ; C चिह्नापि 43 DW णिप्फाओ , ABC णिप्पओ

ष्प इत्येतस्य फ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ पुप्फं । सप्फं । णिप्फाओ[43] ॥ पुष्प । शष्प । निष्पाय[44] ॥

॥ स्पस्य सर्वत्र स्थितस्य[45] ॥ ३६ ॥

स्प इत्येतस्य सर्वत्र स्थितस्य फ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ फंसो ।[46] फंदणं ॥ स्पर्शः । स्पंदन ॥

॥ सि च ॥ ३७ ॥

स्पस्य कचित्[47] सि इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ पाडिसिद्धो[48] ॥ प्रतिस्पर्द्धिन् ॥[49]

॥ बाष्पे ऽश्रुणि हः ॥ ३८ ॥

बाष्पशब्दे ष्प इत्येतस्य हकारो भवति अश्रुणि वाच्ये ॥ बाहो ॥ अश्रुणि किं ॥ बप्फो ॥ बाष्प उष्मन् ॥

॥ कार्षापणे ॥ ३९ ॥

कार्षापणशब्दे युक्तस्य हकारो भवति ॥ काहावणो ॥[50]

॥ श्चत्सप्सां छः ॥ ४० ॥

एतेषां छकारो भवति ॥ श्चस्य । पच्छिमं । अच्छेरं ॥ त्सस्य । वच्छो । वच्छरो ॥ प्सस्य । लिच्छा । जुगुच्छा[51] ॥ पश्चिम । आश्चर्य । वत्स । वत्सर । लिप्सा । जुगुप्सा ॥

॥ वृश्चिके ञ्छः[52] ॥ ४१ ॥

वृश्चिकशब्दे श्चकारस्य ञ्छ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ विञ्छुओ ॥

॥ नोत्सुकोत्सवयोः ॥ ४२ ॥

44 So D, W has णिप्पाव 45 W स्पस्य फ; it reads s. 38 before s 36 46 DE फसो, W फम्सो; BC corrupt. 47 ABC om. 48 W पडिसिद्धो. 49 ABC om.; W स्पर्धा, cf. 1, 2. 50 AC कहावणो 51 BD add उच्छरा = अप्सरा. 52 So BD, A originally had ञ्छ but has been altered to ञ्छ; W has च्छ, the same holds of the Prâkrt ex. in Comm.

उत्सुक उत्सव इत्येतयोः त्स इत्येतस्य छकारो न भवति॥ अत्सप्सां छ इति प्राप्ते प्रतिषिध्यते॥ उस्सुओ[53]। उस्सवो[54]॥

॥ न्मो मः॥ ४३॥

न्म इत्येतस्य म इत्ययमादेशो भवति। अधोलोपे[55] प्राप्ते॥ जम्मो। वम्महो॥ जन्म। मन्मथ॥

॥ म्नज्ञपंचाशत्पचदशेषु णः[56]॥ ४४॥

म्न ज्ञ इत्येतयोः पंचाशद् पंचदश शब्दयोश्च युक्तस्य णकारो भवति॥ म्नस्य॥ पज्जुण्णो॥ ज्ञस्य॥ जण्णो। विण्णाणं॥ पण्णासा[57]। पण्णरहो[58]॥ प्रद्युम्न। यज्ञ। विज्ञान। पंचाशत्। पंचदश॥

॥ तालवृन्ते ण्टः[59]॥ ४५॥

तालवृन्ते युक्तस्य ण्ट इत्ययमादेशो भवति॥ तालवेण्टअं॥

॥ भिन्दिपाले ण्डः॥ ४६॥

भिन्दिपालशब्दे युक्तस्य ण्ड इत्ययमादेशो भवति॥ भिण्डिवालो॥

॥ विह्वले भहौ[60] वा॥ ४७॥

53 A ओसुओ; B उसओ; C उसवो; D उसुओ; F उस्सुओ; W उत्सुओ. 54 A ओसवः; BCD उसवो (C ऊ-); E उस्सवो; W उत्सओ; in such uncertainty, E's reading has been followed, because it at once brings them under iii., 1; *cf.* Sanksh. Sára, 138, 190. 55 *cf.* iii., 2. 56 So CW and probably A (for Lassen's श); DE read sútra न्यण्यज्ञ- giving ex, in Comm., but न्य, ण्य are covered by iii., 2; B has been greatly altered. 57 BD पणास (D originally-सा); AE -सा; W -सो. 58 A पणा-. 59 B णः; DE ण्ठः. 60 So BD; C भचाह्यौ; A ज्झौ; W gives the sútra विह्वले भो वा। adding to the Comm. अभावपक्षे सर्वत्र लवरामिति वकारे लुप्ते हकारो ऽवशिष्टः॥ विहलो॥.

विह्वलशब्दे युक्तस्य भकारहकारौ भवतो वा॥ वेब्भलो[61]। विह्वलो॥

॥ आत्मनि पः॥ ४८॥

आत्मशब्दे युक्तस्य पकारो भवति॥ अप्पा[62]॥

॥ क्मस्य॥ ४९॥

क्म इत्येतस्य पकारो भवति॥ रुप्पं। रुप्पिणी॥ योगविभागो नित्यार्थः[63]॥

॥ शेषादेशयोर्द्वित्वमनादौ॥ ५०॥

युक्तस्य यौ शेषादेशभूतौ तयोरनादौ वर्तमानयो र्द्वित्वं भवति॥

शेषस्य तावत्॥ भुत्तं। मग्गो॥ आदेशस्य॥ लट्ठी। दिट्ठी। हत्थो॥ अनादाविति किं॥ खलिअं। खम्भो। थवओ॥

भुक्त। मार्ग। यष्टि। दृष्टि। हस्त। स्खलित।स्तंभ। स्तवक।

॥ वर्गेषु युजः[64] पूर्वः। ५१॥

युक्तस्य यौ शेषादेशावनादिभूतौ तयोर्द्वित्वेऽपि विहिते अध ऊर्द्ध्वेन यो वर्गेषु वर्णो द्वितीयश्चतुर्थो वा विहितस्तस्य पूर्वः प्रथमस्तृतीयो वा भवति[65]॥ वर्गेषु युग्मस्य द्वितीयस्य प्रथमश्चतुर्थस्य तृतीयो द्वित्वेन विधीयते। अयुग्मयोः प्रथमतृतीयपंचमरूपयोः शेषादेशयोस्तु तावेव भवतः॥

61 BCD वेब्भलो; W वि-; A विब्भलो. 62 C आप्पा; A originally अप्पा but altered to आ-. 63 *cf.* viii., 40; and Pāṇini, vi., 2, 59. 64 AC वर्गेषु यः पूर्वः. 65 After भवति, AC have वर्गेषु युक्तस्य प्रथमतृतीययोर्द्वित्वेन विधीयते तदा तावेव भवतः, and W seems equally confused: the remainder is therefore given from D, to which B has been altered: the examples are given as in BD, A being in several places illegible and confused.

शेषस्य ॥ वक्खाणं । अग्घो । मुच्छा । णिज्झरो । लुद्धो । णिब्भरो ॥ आदेशस्य ॥ दिट्ठी । लट्ठी । वच्छो । विप्फरिसो । जक्खो । लच्छी । अट्ठी । पुप्फं ॥

व्याख्यान । अर्घ । मूर्छा । निर्झर । लुब्ध । निर्भर । दृष्टि । यष्टि । वक्षः । विस्पर्श । निस्तार । यक्ष । लक्ष्मी । अस्थि । पुष्प ॥

॥ नीडादिषु ॥ ५२ ॥

नीड इत्येवमादिषु अनादौ वर्तमानस्य च द्वित्वं भवति ॥ णेड्डं ॥ एन्नीडापीडेत्यादिना[66] एत्वं ॥ सोत्तं । पेम्मं । वाहित्तं[67] । उज्जुओ[68] । जस्सओ । जोव्वणं ॥ नीड । स्रोत । प्रेमन् । व्याहृत । ऋजु[69] । जनक । यौवन[70] ॥

॥ आम्रताम्रयोर्वः ॥ ५३ ॥

आम्र ताम्र इत्येतयोर्द्वित्वेन वकारो भवति ॥ अंबं । तंबं[71] ॥

॥ न रहोः ॥ ५४ ॥

रेफहकारयोर्द्वित्वं न भवति ॥ धीरं । तूरं । जीहा । वाहो ॥ धैर्य । तूर्य । जिह्वा । वाष्प ॥

॥ आङो ज्ञस्य[72] ॥ ५५ ॥

आङ उत्तरस्य ज्ञ इत्येतस्यादेशस्य[73] द्वित्वं न भवति ॥

66 *cf.* I., 19. 67 AB-त्थं ; D-त्तं ; E-त्तं (DE add, with similar variation, मुहअरिवाहित्तणलिणिपडिसंज्ञाव इति सेतौ ; *cf.* Hofer Zeitsch., vol. II., p. 514) ; W om. ; *cf.* Lass. Inst., p. 233. DE अज्जुओ. 69 So BCD plainly ; *cf.* Lass. Inst, App., p. 45. 70 W adds यत्र शेषादेशौ नस्तः द्वित्वं च दृश्यते स नीडगणे. 71 अवं तंव (originally अंबं तंवं) ; BCDE अव्वं अंबं (D orig. अंब्वं) तव्वं ; W अम्बौ तम्बं ; Hema-ch. has ताम्राम्रे म्बः । अनयोः संयुक्तस्य मयुक्तो वो भवति । तम्बं अम्बं ; *cf.* Lass., p. 246. BDE ज्ञादेशस्य. 73 W एतस्य णादेशस्य.

आणा। आणत्ती॥ आज्ञा। आज्ञप्ति॥ आङ इति किं॥ सण्णा[74] ॥ संज्ञा॥

॥ न बिंदुपरे ॥ ५६ ॥

अनुस्वारपरे द्वित्वं न भवति॥ संकंतो। संझा[76] ॥ संक्रान्त। संध्या॥

॥ समासे वा ॥ ५७ ॥

समासे शेषादेशयोर्वा द्वित्वं भवति॥ णईग्गामो। णइगामो[77]। कुसुमप्पअरो। कुसुमपअरो। देवत्थुई। देवथुई। आणालक्खंभो। आणालखंभो॥ तदीग्राम। कुसुमप्रकर। देवस्तुति। आलानस्तंभ॥

॥ सेवादिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥

सेवा इत्येवमादिषु चानादौ वा द्वित्वं भवति॥ सेव्वा सेवा। पक्कं पक्कं। णक्खो णहो। देव्वं दइवं। असिव्वं असिवं। तेल्लोक्क[78] तेलोअं[79]। णिहित्तो[80] णिहिओ। तुण्हिक्को तुण्हिओ। कण्णिआरो कणिआरो। दिग्घं दीहं। रत्ती राई। दुक्खिओ दुहिओ। अस्सो असो। इस्सरो ईसरो। विस्सासो वीसासो। णिस्सासो णीसासो। रस्सी रसी। मित्तो मिओ। पुस्सो पुसो[81] ॥ सेवा। पक्व। नख। दैव। अशिव। त्रैलोक्य। निहित। तूष्णीक। कर्णिकार। दीर्घ।

74 AW संरणा ; DE add विण्णत्ती ; BDEW add ज्ञादेशस्येति किं (W ज्ञस्ये-) अविखत्तं. 75 This sūtra is only found in BDEW ; Hema- ch. has a *sūtra*, *Na dīrghānusvārāt* (i.e. *parayoḥ śeṣāsayor dvitvam.*) 76 This ex. only in B ; DE instead संसो शेषस्य स स। इति संसादेशः शेषः (?). 77 So D; AB णइग- ; in the other words the MSS. clear up some doubtful letters of A ; W has several errors here. 78 BDE तेल्लोकं ; W तेलोक्कं. 79 B (not A) तेल्लोअं. 80 ADEW -त्तो ; B -तो. 81 All the MSS. पुस्सो पुसो (W पूसो).

रात्रि। दुःखित। अश्व। ईश्वर। विश्वास। निश्वास। रश्मि। मित्र। पुष्य[82] ॥

उभयत्र विभाषेयं सेवादिनामप्राप्ते दीर्घादीनां च प्राप्ते ।

॥ विप्रकर्षः ॥ ५९ ॥

अधिकारो ऽयं। आ परिच्छेदसमाप्तेर्युक्तस्य विप्रकर्षो भवति ॥

॥ क्लिष्टश्लिष्टरत्नक्रियाशार्ङ्गेषु[83] तत्स्वरवत्पूर्वस्य[84] ॥ ६० ॥

क्लिष्टादिषु युक्तस्य विप्रकर्षो भवत्ति। विप्रकृष्टस्यच यः पूर्वो वर्णो निरर्थस्तस्य[85] तत्स्वरता भवति। तेनैव पूर्वेण[86] स्वरेण[87] पूर्वो वर्णः सार्थो भवति। इत्यर्थः॥ किलिट्ठं। सिलिट्ठं। रअणं। किरिआ। सारंगो॥

॥ कृष्णे वा ॥ ६१ ॥

कृष्णशब्दे युक्तस्य वा विप्रकर्षो भवति। पूर्वस्य छ तत्स्वरता॥ व्यवस्थितविभाषेयं। तेन वर्णे नित्यं विप्रकर्षः। विण्णो तु न भवत्येव॥ कसणो॥ कण्हो[88] ॥

॥ इः श्रीह्रीक्रीतक्लान्तक्लेशम्लानस्वप्नस्पर्शहर्षार्हगर्हेषु[89] ॥ ६२ ॥

एषु युक्तस्य विप्रकर्षो भवति। पूर्वस्य इकार तत्स्वरताच भवति॥ सिरी। हिरी। किरीतो[90]। किलंतो। किलेसो। मिलाणं[91]। सिविणो[92]। फरिसो। हरिसो। अरिहो। गरिहो॥ श्री। ह्री। क्रीत। क्लान्त। क्लेश। म्लान। स्वप्न। स्पर्श। हर्ष। अर्ह। गर्ह॥

82 AEW पुष्प (*cf.* Lass. Inst., p. 261); BD seem to read पुष्य which is better, as पुष्प is neuter in iii., 35. 83 AW शार्हेषु. 84 W here and elsewhere तत्स्वरूपवत. 85 D स्वररहितः. 86 A पूर्णेन. 87 W वर्णेन, which may account for the marginal addition in A, noticed by Lassen. 88 Lassen om. 89 W म्लान. 90 A कीरोतो; BD क्रिरीतो; W क्रिरीओ. 91 W मिलाणं. 92 So DW (*cf.* i., 3); A सेविणो; B not clear.

॥ अः क्ष्माश्लाघयोः[93] ॥ ६३ ॥

क्ष्मा श्लाघा इत्येतयोर्युक्तस्य विप्रकर्षो भवति। पूर्वस्य अकारस्तत्स्वरत्वाच भवति ॥ खमा। सलाहा ॥

॥ स्नेहे वा ॥ ६४ ॥

स्नेहशब्दे युक्तस्य विप्रकर्षो वा भवति। पूर्वस्य च अकारस्तत्स्वरता च भवति ॥ सणेहो। णेहो ॥

॥ उः पद्मतन्वीसमेषु ॥ ६५ ॥

पद्मशब्दे[94] तन्वी इत्येवंसमेषु च युक्तस्य विप्रकर्षो भवति। पूर्वस्य च उकारस्तत्स्वरता च भवति ॥ पडमं[95]। तणुई। लहुई[96] ॥

॥ ज्यायामीत् ॥ ६६ ॥

ज्याशब्दे युक्तस्य विप्रकर्षो भवति। पूर्वस्य च ईकारस्तत्स्वरता च ॥ जीआ[97] ॥

॥ इति वररुचिकृते प्राकृतप्रकाशे युक्तवर्णविधिर्नाम तृतीयः परिच्छेदः ॥

93 W यत्. 94 A *om.* 95 *So* ABCW; DE पदुमं (*but* D *not so originally*); W *adds* क्वचित् पोम्मं (*Hema-ch.* पोम्मं). 96 A om. D adds गरुई; W गुरुई. 97 DE add another sútra here, which is only supplied in the margin of B, and is not found even in W; इवे च ॥ इव शब्दे च इति सर्वस्य निपात्यते ॥ पादस्य पणं ॥ प्राप्त इव पत्तं ॥ *cf.* Lass. Inst., pp. 192, 370, where he quotes Sanksh. Sára, 385. The sútra can have no place in this section.

॥ अथ चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ॥

॥ संधावचामज्लोपविशेषा बहूलं ॥ १ ॥

अत्वामिति प्रत्याहारग्रहणं। अजिति च। संधौ वर्तमानानामचां स्थाने अज्विशेषा लोपविशेषाश्च बहूलं भवंति ॥

अज्विशेषास्तावत् ॥ जउणअडं जउणाअडं। णइसोत्तो[1] णईसोत्तो। वहुमुहं वहूमुहं। कण्णऊरं लण्णऊरं[2]। सिरोवेअणा सिरवेअणा। पीआपीअं पिआपिअं। सीआसीअं सिआसिअं[3] सवोसुओ सवोमूओ[4]। सरोरुहं सररुहं[5] ॥

लोपविशेषाः ॥ राउलं राअउलं। तुहइं तुहअद्धं। महद्धं महअद्धं। वावउणं वाअवडणं। कुंभारो कुंभआरो[6]। पवणुद्धअं पवनोद्धअं ॥

1 So Aw (*cf.* III., 52); BD-तो in both; *Qy.* णइस- ?
2 AB कण-. 3 ABW have only पीआपीअं पीआसीअं; DE have पीआपीअ पिआपिअ सिआसीअ सिआसिअ (D सीआसीअ सीआसिअ); DEW give the Sans. पीतापीत सितासित. 4 So BDEW (only W सव्वो-); A सव्वोमूलं सवोमूल (the last ल confused); DE explain it by शिवामृत, W by सर्वामृत. 5 A om. both. 6 The MSS. are here very corrupt; तुहइं—आरो from BDEW (B तुहइं for the Ist, and om. the 3rd); DEW add Sans. तवार्द्ध मध्यार्द्ध पादपतनं कुंभकारः; B then adds सुवइं एवरिट्ठो सुवणिट्ठो पवणुद्धअं; W adds ताअछं तावछं। सुणिहा सुणिहा। पवणुद्धअ पवणुद्धअ, A has instead after *ráaülam*, तुअद्धं दुअधं पीलद्धं एवरिदो सुवणिदो (supplied in marg.) पवणुद्धअं with no Sans. explanation. For this sut. and its Corrupt Comm., *cf.* note translation pp. 36-37.

संयोगपरे सर्वत्र पूर्वस्याचो लोपः[7] ।

क्वचिन्नित्य क्वचिदन्यदेव बहुलग्रहणात् । तेनान्यदपि लाक्षणिककार्यं[8] भवति ।

॥ उदुम्बरे दोर्लोपः ॥ २ ॥

उदुम्बरशब्दे दु इत्येतस्य लोपो भवति ॥ उंबरं ॥

॥ कालायसे यस्य वा ॥ ३ ॥

कालायसशब्दे यस्य वा लोपो भवति ॥ कालासं कालाअसं ॥

॥ भाजने जस्य ॥ ४ ॥

भाजनशब्दे जकारस्य लोपो वा भवति ॥ भाणं भाअणं ॥

॥ यावदादिषु वस्य[9] ॥ ५ ॥

यावदित्येवमादिषु वकारस्य वा लोपो भवति ॥ जा जाव । ता ताव । पाराओ[10] पारावओ । अणुत्तंत अणुवत्तंत[11] । जीअं[12] जीविअं । एअं एवं । पअ पव । कुअलअं कुवलअं[13] ॥ यावत् । तावत् । पारावत । अनुवर्तमान[14] । जीवित । एवं । पव । कुवलय । इत्येवमादयः ॥

॥ अन्त्यस्य हलः ॥ ६ ॥

वेति निवृत्तं[15] । शब्दानां योऽन्त्यो हल् तस्य लोपो भवति ॥

7 No MS. gives this as new *sútra* ; W *om.* सर्वत्र and adds हस्वश्च after लोपः, with several new examples, as दाधि गइ़ंतो पिउ़ंतो भत्तो etc. 8 DE कलाच- ; W adds two new *sútras* here, *samyogapúrvo hrasvaḥ* and *Dirghádiṣu vá*. 9 W तस्य with a similar blunder in the Comm. 10 A पराओ. 11 B अणुतंत -वत्तंत ; D अणुमत्तं अणुवत्तउ (originally -त्तंतं) ; E अणुमत्तं -वत्तं W om. 12 B जोइअं. 13 D adds पराओ पराणओ (*cf.* Sankh. Sára, S. 196) देउलं देवउलं. 14 So AC and probably D ; BE अनुवर्तन. 15 AC om.

जसो। णहं[16]। सरो। कम्मो। जाव। ताव॥ यशस्। नभस्। सरस्। कर्मन्। यावत्। तावत्॥

॥ स्त्रियामात् ॥ ७ ॥

स्त्रियां वर्तमानस्यान्त्यहल आकारो भवति॥ सरिआ। पडिवआ। वाआ॥ सरित्। प्रतिपद्। वाच्॥

॥ रो रा[17] ॥ ८ ॥

स्त्रियामन्त्यस्य हलो रेफस्य रा इत्ययमादेशो भवति॥ धुरा। गिरा॥

॥ न विद्युति ॥ ९ ॥

विद्युच्छब्दे आकारो न भवति॥ विज्जू॥

॥ शरदो दः ॥ १० ॥

शरच्छब्दस्यान्त्यहलो दो भवति॥ सरदो॥

॥ दिक्प्रावृषोः सः ॥ ११ ॥

दिक्शब्दस्यान्त्यहलः प्रावृट्शब्दस्यापि सकारो भवति॥ दिसा। पाउसो॥

॥ मो विन्दुः ॥ १२ ॥

अन्त्यस्य हलो मकारस्य विन्दुर्भवति॥ अच्छं। वच्छं। भद्दं। अग्गिं। दट्ठं[18]। वणं। धणं॥

॥ अचि मश्च[19] ॥ १३ ॥

अचि परतो मो[20] भवति वा॥ फलमवहरइ। फलं अवहरइ॥

16 So B; the others णहो (*cf.* s 19) 17 Lassen reads this sútra in A as an ex. दोसा to s. 7. 18 D दट्ठं explained by दृ (दृष्ट ?); A वट्; C वट्टं; W धट्ठं; B confuses this with the next sútra. 19 A adds वा in the margin. 20 D मो विंदुः; W has मकारस्य मकारो भवति चकाराद्विंदुरपि.

॥ नञोर्हलि ॥ १४ ॥

नकारञकारयोर्हलि परतो विन्दुर्भवति मकारश्च ॥ नस्य[21] ॥ अंसो अम्सो । कंसो कम्सो[22] ॥ ञस्य ॥ वंचणीअं वम्चणीअं । विंज्मो विम्ज्मो[23] ॥

॥ वक्रादिषु ॥ १५ ॥

वक्रादिषु शब्देषु विन्दुरागमो भवति ॥ वंकं । तंसं[24] । हंसो । अंसू । मंसू । गुंठी[25] । मंथं[26] । मणंसिणी । दंसणं । फंसो । वण्णो[27] । पडिंसुदं[28] । अंसो[29] । अहिमुंको[30] ॥ वक्र । त्र्यस्र । ह्रस्व । अश्रु । श्मश्रु । गृष्टि । मस्त[31] । मनस्विनी । दर्शन । स्पर्श । वर्ण । प्रतिश्रुत । अश्व । अभिमुक्त । इत्यादयः ॥

॥ मांसादिषु वा ॥१६॥

मांसादिषु शब्देषु वा विन्दुः प्रयोक्तव्यः ॥ मंसं मासं । कहं कह । णूणं णूण । तहिं तहि[32] । असुं असु[33] ॥ तदयमपठितो मांसादिर्गणः । यत्र क्वचिद्वृत्तभङ्गभयात् त्यज्यमानः[34] क्रियमाणश्च विंदुर्भवति स मांसादिषु द्रष्टव्यः ॥

21 MSS. om. 22 W has for these, अंधो अम्धो । कंधो कम्धो. 23 A विम्जो विज्जुओ ; B विंमूजओ विन्मूजओ ; D विम्ज्मो विंमओ (adding Sans. अन्स फन्स वञ्चनीय विन्ध्य) ; E विम्मो विंजओ ; W विंचू विम्चूओ = वृश्चिक. 24 So A (not अंसं). 25 A गुडी ; B गुठी ; W गिट्ठिं , DE गुंठी ; *cf.* Lass. Instr., p. 254. 26 AB (not C) मन्धं ; *cf.* III., 56. 27 AB वणो ; W वएण ; DE वंएणो. 28 AE पडिस्सुदं (A originally पडिं-) ; BW पंडिस्सुदं ; W पडिसुदं. 29 AB अमो. 30 A अहिमुंक्तो ; B -मुम्मो ; W अंहिमुम्मो. 31 DE मन्तक ; AB मूर्द्धन् ; W *n.l.* 32 So BD = तहिं ; AC तिहिं -हिं. 33 So MSS. (W om.) ; A has no Sans. expl. ; DE give असु ; W adds several other examples. 34 A om.

॥ ययि[35] तद्वर्गांतः ॥ १७ ॥

ययि परतो विन्दुस्तद्वर्गांतो वा भवति ॥ सङ्का । सङ्खो । अङ्को । प्रङ्ग । सञ्चरइ । सण्ढो[36] । सन्तरइ । सम्पत्ती[37] ॥ ययीति किं । अंसो[38] ॥ वाधिकारात् । पंकं । विंदू[39] । संका । संखो ॥

॥ नसांतप्रावृट्शरदः पुंसि ॥ १८ ॥

नकारांताः सकारांताश्च प्रावृट्शरदौच पुंसि प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥ नांताः ॥ कम्मो । जम्मो । वम्मो ॥ सांताः ॥ जसो । तमो । सरो ॥ पाउसो । सरदो ॥

॥ न शिरोनभसी ॥ १९ ॥

शिरस् नभस् इत्येतौ न पुंसि प्रयोक्तव्यौ ॥ सिरं । णहं ॥

॥ पृष्ठाक्षिप्रश्नाः स्त्रियां वा ॥ २० ॥

एते स्त्रियां वा प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥ पुट्ठी पुट्ठं । अच्छी अच्छं[40] । पण्हा पण्हो ॥ पृष्ठ । अक्षि । प्रश्न ॥

॥ औदवापयोः[41] ॥ २१ ॥

अव अप इत्येतयोरुपसर्गयोर्वा ओत्वं भवति ॥ ओहासो अवहासो ॥ ओसारिअं[42] अवसारिअं[43] ॥ अवहास । अवसारित ॥

॥ तल्त्वयोर्दात्तणौ ॥ २२ ॥

तल् त्व इत्येतयोः प्रत्यययोर्यथासंख्यं दा त्तण इत्येतावादेशौ स्तः ॥ वीणदा मूढदा । पीणत्तणं । मूढत्तणं ॥

॥ क्त्व ऊणः[44] ॥ २३ ॥

35 ABCW ह्यलि ; DE ययि : the latter is taken, because all (except W) have अंस as the exception, which does not apply to ह्यलि. 36 AB om. 37 BD -ती. 38 AB असं ; W रम्मं सोम्मं. 39 A -दुं ; D दु ; B *n.l.* 40 D अच्छि. 41 B has उ for ओ. 42 So W ; ABD -सरिअ' 43 A अप- ; D adds ओवाहिअ' अव-. 44 All except W क्त्वा (*cf.* Pán. vi., 4, 140) ; B has उणे.

क्त्वा प्रत्ययस्य ऊण इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ घेऊण। सोऊण। काऊण। दाऊण ॥ गृहीत्वा। श्रुत्वा[45]। कृत्वा। दत्वा ॥

॥ तृण[46] ईरः शीले ॥ २४ ॥

शीले यस्तृन्प्रत्ययो विहितस्तस्य ईर इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ भ्रमणशीलो भमिरो। हसनशीलो हसिरो[47] ॥

॥ आल्विल्लोल्लालवन्तेन्ता[48] मतुपः ॥२५ ॥

आलु इल्ल उल्ल आल वन्त इन्त इत्येत आदेशा मतुपः स्थाने भवन्ति ॥

आलुस्तावत् ॥ ईसालू ॥ णिद्दालू ॥ इल्लः ॥ विआरिल्लो[49]। मालाइल्लो ॥ उल्लः ॥ विआरुल्लो ॥ आलः[50] ॥ धणालो। सद्दालो[51] ॥ वन्तः ॥ धणवन्तो। जोव्वणवन्तो[52] ॥ इन्तः[53] ॥ रोसाइन्तो पाणाइन्तो[54] ॥ यथादर्शनमेते प्रयोक्तव्याः न सर्वे सर्वत्र ॥

ईर्षावत्[55]। निद्रावत्। विकारवत्। मालावत्। धनवत्। शब्दवत्। यौवनवत्। रोषवत्। प्राणवत्[56] ॥

[क्वचिद्वा[57] मतुपो ऽन्त्यस्य मंतो वा दृश्यते क्वचित्।

हणुमा। हणुमंतो ॥

इल्लोल्लावपरे प्रायः शैषिकेषु प्रयुंजते।

पौरस्त्यं पुरोभवं पुरिल्लं। आत्मीयं अप्पुल्लं ॥

परिमाणे किमादिभ्यो भवंति केद्दहादयः।

केद्दहं केत्तिअं। जेद्दहं जेत्तिअं। तेद्दहं तेत्तिअं। एद्दहं एत्तिअं ॥

45 So W ; DE सुत्वा ; AB have no Sans. 46 So EW ; A तृन ; तृव 47 DE add भ्रमिता हसिता. 48 DE -वंतेता ; B here corrupt. 49 W has वारइल्लो, and in the next line रिमारउल्लो. 50 DE श्चलः ; and ल in ex. 51 A गद्दा-. 52 D जोम्म-. 53 DE इतः here and in ex. 54 W रोल- ; BW पाणइंतो ; D माणइंतो. 55 AB have no Sans. expl. 56 D मान- ; W प्रा-. 57 The passage enclosed in brackets is only

कृत्वसो हुत्तमित्यन्ये । देशी शब्दः स इष्यते ।
सअहुत्तं । सहसहुत्तं ॥
जातौ वा स्वार्थिकः कः ।
जातौ स्वार्थे ककारः प्रयोक्तव्यः ॥]

॥ विद्युत्पीताभ्यां लः[51] ॥ २६ ॥

विद्युत्पीतशब्दाभ्यां परतः स्वार्थे लप्रत्ययो भवति[59] ॥ विज्जू । विज्जुली ॥ पीअं । पीअलं ॥

[॥ वृंदे वो वः[60] ॥ २७ ॥]

वृंदशब्दे वकारात्परः[61] स्वार्थे रेफो वा प्रयोक्तव्यः ॥ व्रंदं । वंदं[62] ॥

॥ करेण्वां रणोः स्थितिपरिवृत्तिः ॥ २८ ॥

करेणुशब्दे रेफणकारयोः स्थितिपरिवृत्तिर्भवति ॥ कणेरू ॥ पुंसि[63] न भवति ॥ करेणू ॥

॥ आलाने लनोः ॥ २९ ॥

आलानशब्दे लकारनकारयोर्हल्मात्रयोः स्थितिपरिवृत्तिर्भवति ॥ आणालखंभो[64] ॥

found in AC, and has been conjecturally restored by the help of the corresponding passages in Hema-ch., and the Prákṛta Sanjívaní. It seems (with the exception of the last two lines) to be in verse, with examples interposed, and as such to be quoted at the end of the Comm. to sútra 25, but it will be further discussed in the Appendix. 58 BDEW here recommence; DE add वा ; W has विद्युत्पीतादिभ्यो लः, adding as new examples सामलो दीहलो सोअलं. 59 DE add वा, and it is supplied in the margin of A. 60 This sútra not in ABC. 61 W -परस्य. 62 W वृंदं विंदं. 63 DW add करेणवामिति स्त्रीलिंगनिर्देशात्. 64 *Cf.* iii. 57.

॥ बृहस्पतौ बहोर्भओ[65] ॥३९ ॥

बृहस्पतिशब्दे बकारहकारयोर्यथासंख्यं भकारअकारौ भवतः ॥ भअप्फई[66] ॥

॥ मलिने लिनोरिलौ[67] वा ॥ ३१ ॥

मलिनशब्दे लिकारनकारयोर्यथासंख्यमिकारलकारौ वा भवतः ॥ मइलं । मलिणं ॥

॥ गृहे घरोऽपतौ ॥ ३२ ॥

गृहशब्दे घर इत्ययमादेशो भवति । पतिशब्दे परतो न भवति ॥ घरं भवनं ॥ अपताविति किं ॥ गहवई ॥

॥ दाढादयो[68] बहुलं ॥ ३६ ॥

दाढा इत्येवमादयः शब्दा बहुलं निपात्यन्ते दंष्ट्रादिषु ॥ दंष्ट्रा । दाढा ॥ इदानीं । एण्हिं[69] ॥ दुहिता । धीआ धूदा[70] ॥ चातुर्यं । चातुलिअं[71] ॥ मंडुकः । मंडूरो[72] ॥ गृहे निहितं । घरे णिहितं[73] ॥ उत्पलं । फंदोट्टो[74] ॥ गोदावरी । गोला ॥ ललाटं । णिडालं[75] ॥ भूः । भुमआ[76] ॥ वैदूर्यं । वेलुरिअं[77] ॥ उभयपार्श्वं । अवहोवासं ॥

65 A भअः 66 BW-प्फई. 67 AB इल वा. 68 So DW and probably A ; B has been correted from ठ to ढ ; several variations occur in the examples of this sútra : *cf.* Sanksh. Sára, 162, 165. 69 BCE एएहीं ; D एएही. 70 A only दिधी ; B धिया दिट्ठी ; W enly धूआ. 71 Altered in A *n.l.* ; C चाउ-. 72 Altered in A to मंडूओ ; B *n.l.* ; DE मड्डो. 73 AB णिहिलं (B altered to -तं). 74 A -ट्ट (?) ; W -ट्टं. 75 A णिडालं ; D टे- . W adds another form ण्डालं ; AC end here. 76 WE भुमआ ; DED give Sans. भ्रू ; *cf.* Sanksh. Sára, 162. 77 B वेलिरिअं.

चूतः। माइंदो माअंदो[78] ॥ आदिशब्दोऽयं प्रकारे[79]। तेन सर्वे एव देशसंकेतप्रवृत्तभाषाशब्दाः परिगृहीताः ॥

॥ इति वररुचिकृते प्राकृतप्रकाशे संकीर्णविधिर्नाम चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ॥

78 W मरिंदो मअंदो ; W has besides as new examples, प्रत्यूषः। गोसो ॥ कांतः। ललहो ॥ कवलः। खेघर ॥ कर्कटी। वालुकी ॥ चिंता। तत्तिं 79 D adds प्रकारः सादृश्यं.

॥ अथ पंचम परिच्छेद ॥

॥ अत ओत्सो ॥ १ ॥

अकारांताच्छब्दात्परस्य सोः स्थाने ओत्वं भवति ॥ वच्छो। वसहो। पुरिसो[1] ॥ वृक्ष.[2]। वृषभः। पुरुषः ॥

॥ जश्शसोर्लोपः ॥ २ ॥

अत इत्यनुवर्तते। अकारांतस्यानंतर यौ जश्शसौ तयोर्लोपो भवति ॥ वच्छा सोहंति। वृक्षाः शोभंते। जश्शस्ङस्यांसु[3] दीर्घ इति दीर्घे कृते पश्चाल्लोपो जसः।

वच्छे णिअच्छह[4]। वृक्षान्नियच्छत[5] ॥ एच सुपि[6] इत्येत्वे कृते शसो लोपः ॥

॥ अतोऽमः ॥ ३ ॥

अकारांतस्यानंतरं यो ऽम् द्वितीयैकवचन तदकारस्य लोपो भवति। वच्छ पेक्खइ। मो विंदुरिति विंदुः ॥

॥ टामोर्णः ॥ ४ ॥

अतो ऽनतरं टामोस्तृतीयैकवचनषष्ठीबहुवचनयोर्णकारो भवति ॥ वच्छेन। वच्छाण[7]। एच सुपीत्येत्वं। जश्शस्ङस्यांसु[8] दीर्घ इति दीर्घ ॥

॥ भिसो[9] हि ॥ ५ ॥

अतोऽनतरस्य भिसो हि भवति ॥ वच्छेहिं ॥ एच सुपि इत्येत्वं ॥

1 D adds हरिसो = हर्ष, and quotes iv, 1 2 D generally has वत्स 3 BE जसङसासु, D जसभ्यमङसासु, *cf* v, 11 4 W उवह = परयत 5 Deest in A 6 *cf* v, 12. 7 B -ए 8 D जसशसभ्यसङसासु, E जशम्सासु, B om 9 This sutra not in B

॥ ङसेरादोदुहयः ॥ ६ ॥

अतो ऽनंतरस्य ङसेः पंचम्येकवचनस्य स्थाने आ दो दु हि इत्येत आदेशा भवंति ॥ वच्छा । वच्छादो । वच्छादु । वच्छाहि ॥ जश्शस्ङस्यासु[10] दीर्घत्वं ॥

॥ भ्यसो हिंतो सुंतो ॥ ७ ॥

अतो ऽनंतरस्य भ्यसो हिंतो सुंतो इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥ वच्छाहिंतो । वच्छासुंतो ॥ एत्व सुपि इति चकारेण दीर्घत्वं ॥

॥ स्सो ङसः ॥ ८ ॥

अतो ऽनंतरस्य ङसः स्स इत्यादेशो भवति ॥ वच्छस्स ॥

॥ ङेरेम्मी[11] ॥ ९ ॥

अतो ऽनंतरस्य ङेः ए म्मि इत्यादेशौ भवतः ॥ वच्छे । क्वचिद् ङसिङयोर्लोपः[12] ॥ वच्छम्मि ॥

॥ सुपः सुः[13] ॥ १० ॥

अतो ऽनंतरस्य सुपः सुंइत्यादेशो भवति ॥ वच्छेसु । एत्व सुपि इत्येत्वं ॥

॥ जश्शस्ङस्यांसु[14] दीर्घः ॥ ११ ॥

जसादिषु परतो ऽतो दीर्घो भवति ॥ वच्छा सोहंति[15] । जश्शसोर्लोप इति जसो लोपः ॥ वच्छादो[16] आगदो । वच्छादु । वच्छाहि ॥ ङसेरादोदुहयः ॥ वच्छाण ॥ टामोर्णः ॥

10 B जसृङस्यांसु ; D as in p. 39, note 3 ; E as in p. 39, note 8. 11 W ङेरेम्मि. 12 cf. v., 13 ; DW add इत्सकारलोपः (not in E). 13 A सु ; E सुं. 14 B corrupt ; D जसभ्यसङस्यांसु ; E जसङम्यांसु. 15 Only W has an ex. of शस्, *i e.*, वच्छे, adding अत्र प्रथमं दीर्घस्तत एत्वं ततो लोपः. 16 Only EW add वच्छा.

॥ एच्च सुप्यङिङसोः ॥ १२ ॥

अत अकारस्यैत्वं भवति सुपि परतो ङिङसौ वर्जयित्वा[17]। चकाराद्दीर्घश्च[18] ॥ वच्छे पेक्खह ॥ जश्शसोर्लोपः ॥ वच्छेण। टामोर्णः ॥ वच्छेहिं ॥ वच्छेसु ॥

चकाराद्दीर्घश्चेति ॥ वच्छाहिंतो वच्छासुंतो ॥ भ्यसो हिंतो सुंतो ॥

अङिङसोरिति किं ॥ वच्छम्मि। वच्छस्स ॥

॥ क्वचिद्ङसिङ्योर्लोपः ॥ १३ ॥

अतो[19]ङसि ङि इत्येतयोः परतः[20] क्वचिल्लोपो भवति ॥ वच्छा[21] आगदो। ङसेरादोदुहय इति ॥ वच्छे ठिअं। ङेरेम्मोत्येत्वं ॥

॥ इदुतोः शसो णो ॥ १४ ॥

इदुदंतयोः शसो णो भवति ॥ अग्गिणो[22] पेक्खह[23]। वाउणो पेक्ख ॥

॥ ङसो वा ॥ १५ ॥

इदुदंतयोर्ङसो वा णो भवति ॥ अग्गिणो। अग्गिस्स ॥ वाउणो। वाउस ॥ अग्नेः। वायोः ॥

॥ जसश्च ओ[24] यूत्वं[25] ॥ १६ ॥

इदुदंतयोर्जस ओकारादेशो भवति। इदुतोश्च ईऊत्वं वा। चकाराद् णोच ॥ अग्गीओ। वाऊओ ॥ अग्गिणो। वाउणो ॥

17 सुपि—त्वा not in AB. 18 W चकाराद्दीर्घो भ्यसि. 19 DE अकारस्य. 20 E परयोः. 21 D वच्छा, ABW वच्छादो, E has both. 22 W अग्गीणो and वाऊणो. 23 The MSS. here and elsewhere vary between पेछ and पेक्ख 24 वा inserted in margin of ABD. 25 W has two sútras for s. 16, *i.e.*, two various readings of the same, with distinct commentaries जस ओ णो वाऽत्वं यूत्वंच ॥ इदुदंतयोः शब्दयोर्जस ओणो इत्यादेशौ भवतः। जत्वं इत्वं ऊत्वंच विकल्पेन। चकारात्णोऽपि। पक्षे अदंतवात् ॥ अग्गीओ

॥ टा णा ॥ १७ ॥

इदुदंतयोष्टाविभक्तेः णा इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ अग्गिणा। वाउणा ॥

॥ सुभिस्सुप्सु दीर्घः ॥ १८ ॥

इदुदंतयोः सु भिस् सुप् इत्येतेषु दीर्घो भवति ॥

सु ॥ अग्गी। वाऊ ॥ भिस् ॥ अग्गीहिं ॥ वाऊहिं ॥ सुप् ॥ अग्गीसु। वाऊसु ॥

॥ स्त्रियां शस उदोतौ[26] ॥ १९ ॥

स्त्रियां वर्तमानस्य शस उत् ओत् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः॥ मालाउ मालाओ। णईउ णईओ। बहुउ बहुओ ॥

[॥ जसो वा[27] ॥ २० ॥]

जसः स्त्रियां उत् ओत् इत्येतावादेशौ वा भवतः। पक्षे अदंतवत् ॥ मालाउ। मालाओ। माला[28] ॥

॥ अमि ह्रस्वः ॥ २१ ॥

अमि परतः स्त्रियां ह्रस्वो भवति ॥ मालं। णइं। वहुं ॥

॥ टाङस्ङीनामिदेददातः[29] ॥ २२ ॥

टा ङस् ङि इत्येतेषां स्त्रियां इत् एत् अत् आत् इत्येत आदेशा भवंति ॥

टा ॥ णाईइ। णईए। णईअ। णईआ कअं ॥ ङस् ॥ णाईइ। णाईए। णाईअ। णाईआ चम्मं ॥ ङि ॥ णाईइ। णईअ। णाईअ। णाईआ ठिअं ॥

अग्गीवो अग्गिणो अग्गओ अग्गनो अग्गी। वाऊओ etc.: then follows जसश्च ओ पुर्वं. 26 W स्त्रियां जश्शसोरुदोतौ. 27 This sútra is only found in BDE (D erroneouly इसो वा both in sút. and Comm.) and in the Prák. Sanj. 27 So E; B मालाइ; D मालस्स मालाई. 29 W टाङसिङसुङीनामि-.

॥ नातो ऽद्याती ॥ २३ ॥

आत आकारांतस्य स्त्रीलिंगस्यानंतरं टाङस्ङीनां[30] अत् आत् इत्येतावादेशौ न भवतः । पूर्वेण प्राप्तो निषिध्यते ॥ मालाइ मालाए । कअं । धणं । ठिअं ॥

॥ आदीतौ[31] बहुलं ॥ २४ ॥

स्त्रियामाकारांतादातः स्थाने आत् ईत् इत्येतौ बहुलं प्रयोक्तव्यौ ॥ सहमाणा सहमाणी[32] । हलद्दा हलद्दी । सुप्पणहा सुप्पणही । छाहा छाही[33] ॥

॥ न नपुंसके[34] ॥ २५ ॥

प्रथमैकवचने नपुंसके दीर्घत्वं न भवति । सौ दीर्घः पूर्वस्येत्यनेन इदुदंतयोः प्राप्तं पूर्वस्य दीर्घत्वं न नपुंसके इत्यनेन बाध्यते[35] ॥ दहिं महुं । हविं ॥ दधि । मधु । हविः ॥

॥ इञ्जश्शसोर्दीर्घश्च ॥ २६ ॥

नपुंसके वर्तमानयोर्जश्शसोः स्थान ईदादेशो भवति पूर्वस्यच[36] दीर्घः ॥ वणाइ । दहीइ । महुइ ॥

30 W as before; the कअं etc. are used to imply the inst. gen. and loc. cases, *i.e.*, कृतं धनं स्थितं. 31 A आदित्तौ; B अदित्तौ; in the Comm. A has the same, B अत् (originally आत्) and ईत्. 32 AB have only this ex. 33 W then adds another sút. (s. 25) यत्तत्किमः ॥ बहूलमित्यनुवर्तते । यत्तत्किम् इत्येतेषु परतः आतः स्थान ईत्ययमादेशो भवति । स्त्रियामित्यनुवर्तते । प्रथमैकवचनवर्जं । ए आदेशश्च बहूलवचनात् ॥ जीए तीए कीए जीहिं तीहिं कीहिं । पक्षे जाए ताए काए जाहिं ताहिं काहिं ॥ यस्याः तस्याः कस्याः याभिः ताभिः काभिः D adds the six examples of the genitive to the preceding sútra; *cf.* vi., 6. 34 W adds सौ दीर्घः पूर्वस्य. 35 सौ—बाध्यते given from DE (*cf.* S. 18); ABW *om.* and add धणं वणं in the ex. 36 AB *only* दीर्घश्च.

॥ नामंत्रणे सावोत्वदीर्घबिंदवः[37] ॥ २७ ॥

आमंत्रणे गम्यमाने सौ परत ओत्वदीर्घबिंदवो न भवंति। अत ओत्सोरित्योत्वं प्राप्तं। सुभिस्सुप्सु दीर्घ इति दीर्घः। सोर्बिंदुर्नपुंसक इतिबिंदुर्प्राप्तः॥ हे वच्छ[38]। हे अग्गि। हे वाउ। हे वण। हे दहि। हे महु॥

॥ स्त्रियामात एत्॥ २८ ॥

स्त्रियामामंत्रणे आतः स्थाने एत्वं भवति सौ परतः॥ हे माले। हे साले॥ अत्यस्य हल इति सोर्लोपः[39]॥

॥ ईदूतोर्ह्रस्वः॥ २९॥

आमंत्रणे ईदूतोर्ह्रस्वो[40] भवति॥ हे णइ। हे वहू॥

॥ सोर्बिंदुर्नपुंसके[41]॥ ३०॥

नपुंसके वर्तमानस्य सोर्बिंदुर्भवति॥ वणं। दहिं। महुं॥

॥ ऋत आरः सुपि[42] ॥ ३१॥

ऋकारांतस्य सुपि परत आर इत्यादेशो भवति॥ भत्तारो सोहइ। भत्तारं पेक्खसु। भत्तारेण कअं॥

॥ मातुरात्॥ ३२॥

मातृसंबंधिन ऋकारस्याकारो भवति॥ माआ सोहइ। माअं पेक्खसु। माआइ कअं। माआए॥

॥ उजश्शस्टाङस्सुप्सु वा[43] ॥ ३३॥

जश्शस्टाङस्सुप्सु परत ऋकारस्य स्थाने उकारादेशो भवति वा[44]॥

37 W सो. 38 AB om. masc. ex. 39 *cf.* iv., 6. 40 W adds स्त्रिया. 41 W puts s. 30 after s. 26. 42 B स by mistake. 43 W उश्च जश्शस्टाङसिङस्सु वा and transposes sútras 32, 33. 44 The examples in AB are rather obscure, and the forms from भत्तार are only fully given in DE.

जस्। भत्तुणो भत्तारा ॥ शस्। भत्तुणो[45] भत्तारे ॥ टा[46]। भत्तुणा भत्तारेण ॥ ङस्। भत्तुणो भत्तारस्स[47] ॥ सुप्। भत्तूसु[48] भत्तारेसु ॥ आरादिः पूर्ववत् ॥

॥ पितृभ्रातृजामातॄणामरः ॥ ३४ ।

पित्रादीनां सुपि परत ऋतोऽरो भवति। आरापवादः ॥ पिअरं पिअरेण। भाअरं भाअरेण। जामाअरं जामाअरेण ॥

॥ आच सौ[49] ॥ ३५ ॥

पित्रादीनामाकारो भवतिसौ परतः ॥ चकारादरश्च ॥ पिआ पिअरो। भाआ भाअरो। जामाआ जामाअरो ॥

[॥ राज्ञश्च[50] ॥ ३६ ॥]

राजन्शब्दस्य आ इत्ययमादेशो भवति सौ परतः ॥ राआ ॥

[॥ आमंत्रणे वा विंदुः ॥ ३७ ॥]

राजन्शब्दस्य आमंत्रणे वा विंदुः स्यात् ॥ हे राअं। हे राअ ॥

[॥ जश्शस्ङसां णो ॥ ३८ ॥]

राज्ञ उत्तरेषां जस् शस् ङस् इत्येतेषां णो इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ राआणो पेक्खति। राआणो पेक्ख। राइणो धणं। रण्णो धणं ॥

[॥ शस ए ॥ ३९ ॥]

राज्ञ परस्य शस ए इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ राए पेक्ख। राआणो पेक्ख ॥

[॥ आमो णं[51] ॥ ४० ॥]

राज्ञ उत्तरस्यामः षष्ठीबहुवचनस्य णं इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

45 W भत्तुो, A om 46 A ए, but C टा. 47 D (not E) भत्तुस. 48 A भत्तुसु (?) 49 D श्राच 50 These *sūtras* on *rājan* (s 36—44) are only found in DEW; W has a few variations, DE agree. 51 W puts S 40 after S. 43.

राआणं ॥

[॥ टा णा ॥ ४१ ॥]

राज्ञ उत्तरस्याः टाविभक्तेः णा इत्ययमादेशः स्यात् ॥ राइणा ॥

[॥ ङसश्च द्वित्वं वांत्यलोपश्च[52] ॥ ४२ ॥]

राज्ञ उत्तरस्य ङसादेशस्य टादेशस्यच वा विकल्पेन द्वित्वं भवति । अंत्यस्यच लोपः ॥ रण्णो राण्णो धणं ॥ राइणा रण्णा कअं ॥

[॥ इदद्वित्वे ॥ ४३ ॥]

वेति निवृत्तं। ङसादेशस्य टादेशस्यच अकृते द्वित्वे राज्ञ इत्वं भवति ॥ राइणो राइणा ॥ कृते द्वित्वे॰ त्वित्वं न भवति ॥ रण्णो रण्णा ॥

[॥ आ णोणमोरङसि[53] ॥ ४४ ॥]

णोणमोः परयोः राज्ञो जकारस्य आकारादेशः स्यात् । अङसि पष्ट्येकवचने न भवति ॥ राआणो पेक्खति । राआणो पेक्ख । राआणं धणं ॥ अङसीति किं ॥ राइणो रण्णो धणं ॥ शेषमदंतवत् ॥ राअं । राएहिं । राआ राआदो राआदु । राआहिंतो राआसुंतो । राअम्मि राए राएसु ॥ राजानं । राजभिः । राज्ञः । राजभ्यः । राज्ञि । राजसु ॥

॥ आत्मनो ऽप्पाणो वा ॥ ४५ ॥

आत्मनो ऽप्पाण इत्यादेशो भवति ॥ अप्पा[54] । अप्पाणो ॥

[इत्वद्वित्ववर्जं राजवदनादेशे[55] ॥ ४६ ॥

आत्मनो ऽनादेशे राजवत् कार्यं स्यादित्वद्वित्वे वर्जयित्वा ॥ अप्पा । अप्पाणो । अप्पणा । अप्पणो ॥ आत्मा । आत्मानः । आत्मना । आत्मनः ॥

52 W जलोपो वा. 53 W णोणयोरादङसि. 54 *cf.* iii., 48.
55 This sútra is only found in DEW. ; W adds the forms अत्ता अत्ताणो.

॥ ब्रह्माद्या आत्मवत् ॥ ४७ ॥

ब्रह्माद्याः शब्दा लक्ष्याणुसारेणात्मवत् साधवो भवंति ॥ बम्हा बम्हाणो ॥ जुवा जुवाणो । अद्धा अद्धाणो[56] ॥ ब्रह्मन् । युवन् । अध्वन् एवमादयो लक्ष्याणुसारेणानुगंतव्याः ॥

॥ इति वररुचिकृते प्राकृतप्रकाशे लिंगविभक्त्यादेशः पंचमः परिच्छेदः ॥

56 ACW आनद्धा आणद्धाणो ; A om. Sans. ; W explains it by अनड्वाह् ; B *n.l.*

॥ अथ षष्ठः परिच्छेदः ॥

॥ सर्वादेर्जस एत्वं ॥ १ ॥

सर्वादेरुत्तरस्य जस एत्वं भवति । ॥ सव्वे । जे । ते । के । कदरे ॥ सर्वे । ये । ते । के । कतरे ॥

॥ ङेः स्सिंम्मित्थाः[1] ॥ २ ॥

ङेः सप्तम्येकवचनस्य सर्वादिपरस्थितस्य स्थाने स्सिं[2] म्मि त्थ इत्येत आदेशा भवंति ॥ सव्वस्सिं । सव्वम्मि । सव्वत्थ[3] ॥ इअरस्सिं[4] । इअरम्मि इअरत्थ[5] ॥ सर्वस्मिन् । इतरस्मिन् ॥

॥ इदमेतत्किंयत्तद्भ्यष्टा इणा वा ॥ ३ ॥

इदं । एतत् । किं । यत् । तत् । इत्येतेभ्यः टा इत्यस्य इणादेशो भवति वा ॥ इमिणा । एदिणा । किणा । जिणा । तिणा[6] ॥ पक्षे । इमेण । एदेण । केण । जेण । तेण ॥ अनेन । एतेन । केन । येन । तेन ॥

॥ आम एसिं ॥ ४ ॥

इदमादिभ्य उत्तरस्य आम एसिं इत्ययमादेशो वा भवति ॥ इमेसिं इमाण[7] । एदेसिं एदाण । केसिं काण । जेसिं जाण । तेसिं ताण[8] ॥

॥ किंयत्तद्भ्यो ङस आसः ॥ ५ ॥

1 ABW स्सि for स्सं. 2 ABW स्सि, but all have सव्वस्सिं; *cf.* S. 15. 3 A -त्था. 4 B -स्सि. 5 A -त्था. 6 So BD and Hema-ch, ; AW कइणा जइणा तइणा. 7 A -णा for -ण in these second forms; B -णं. 8 W adds स्त्रीलिंगे ऽप्येतानि रूपाणि ॥ इमासिं । एदासिं । कासिं । जासिं । तासिं ॥

किं। यत्। तत्। एभ्य उत्तरस्य ङस आस इत्ययमादेशो भवति वा ॥ कास। कस्स ॥ जास। जस्स ॥ तास। तस्स ॥

॥ इद्भ्यः स्सा से[9] ॥ ६ ॥

इकारांतेभ्यः किमादिभ्य उत्तरस्य ङसः स्सा से इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥ किस्सा। कीसे। कीआ। कीए। कीअ। कीइ[10] ॥ जिस्सा। जीसे। जीआ। जीए। जीअ। जीइ ॥ तिस्सा। तीसे। तीआ। तीए। तीअ। तीइ ॥

॥ ङेर्हिं ॥ ७ ॥

किमादिभ्य उत्तरस्य ङेः हिं इत्ययमादेशो भवति वा ॥ कहिं। कस्सिं। कम्मि। कत्थ ॥ जहिं। जस्सिं। जम्मि। जत्थ ॥ तहिं। तस्सिं। तम्मि। तत्थ ॥

॥ आहे इआ काले ॥ ८ ॥

किंयत्तद्भ्यो ङेः काले आहे इआ इत्यादेशौ वा भवतः ॥ काहे। जाहे। ताहे ॥ कइआ[11]। जइआ। तइआ ॥ कहिं इत्यादयोऽपि ॥ कदा। यदा। तदा ॥

॥ त्तो[12] दो ङसेः ॥ ९ ॥

किंयत्तद्भ्यो ङसेः त्तो दो इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥ कत्तो। कदो ॥ जत्तो। जदो ॥ तत्तो। तदो ॥

॥ तद ओघ्य[13] ॥ १० ॥

9 W reads S. 6, ङसः स्सासो स्त्रियां ॥ इकारांतेभ्यश्चाकारांतेभ्यश्च स्त्रियां किमादिभ्य उत्तरस्य ङसः स्सा सो '*ityādeśau vā bhavataḥ*'; etc., after the ex. it adds ङस्ग्रहणेन ङसिरपिग्रहणं' (*cf.* v., 22, var. lect.) *cf.* Lass. Inst., p. 321—3. 10 BW कीई, and similarly जीई तीई. 11 B कईआ etc. 12 BD त्तो for त्तो, and similarly in Comm. 13 W तद तय.

तद् उत्तरस्य ङसेरोकारादेशो[14] भवति वा ॥ तो[15] । तत्तो । तदो ॥

॥ ङसा से ॥ ११ ॥

वेति वर्तते । तदो ङसा सह से इत्ययमादेशो भवति । पक्षे यथाप्राप्तं ॥ से । तास । तस्स[16] ॥

॥ आमा सिं ॥ १२ ॥

तद् आमा सह सिं इत्ययमादेशो वा[17] भवति ॥ सिं । ताण[18] ॥ तेषां तासां ॥

॥ किम· कः ॥ १३ ॥

किंशब्दस्य सुपि परतः क इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ को । के । केण । केहिं[19] ॥

॥ इदम इमः ॥ १४ ॥

सुपि परत इदम इम इत्ययमादेशो भवति[20] ॥ इमो । इमे । इमं । इमेण । इमेहिं ॥

॥ स्सस्सिमोरद्धा[21] ॥ १५ ॥

स्सस्सिमोः परत इदमो ऽद्भादेशो भवति ॥ अस्स । इमस्स[22] ॥ अस्सिं[23] इमस्सिं[24] ॥

॥ ङेर्मेन हः ॥ १६ ॥

14 AW उकार-. 15 A om.; W तउ; for cf. s. 20; Hema-ch. also gives it, and it is found in the Setubandha; see Höfer, Zeitsch., p. 517. 16 A om. Sans.; BD add तस्य तस्याः (for से?); W adds स्त्रियामपि से तिस्सा । इत्थमद्दणे इमिमदण्ण से तत्तो. 17 Only in DW. 18 So BDE (B ताण); A सिं ताणा; W सिं ताण तेसिं; Hema-ch. also has सिं. 19 AB कहिं 20 DW add वा; B confuses sútras 14, 15. 21 W सम्मिमोरद्धा. 22 A इमस्स. 23 W अम्मि (अस्सिं in s. 16.) 24 A इदमस्सिं, but not so in S. 16.

इदमो दकारेण सह ङेः स्थाने हकारादेशो वा[25] भवति ॥ इह ॥ पक्षे । अस्सिं । इमस्सिं । इमम्मि ॥

॥ न त्थः ॥ १७ ॥

इदमः परस्य ङेः त्थ इत्ययमादेशो न भवति ॥ ङेः स्सिंम्मित्था इति प्राप्ते प्रतिषिध्यते ॥ इह । अस्सिं । इमस्सिं । इमम्मि ॥

॥ नपुंसके स्वमोरिदमिणमिणमो ॥ १८ ॥

नपुंसकलिंगे इदमः स्वमोः परतः सविभक्तिकस्य इदं इणं इणमो इत्येते त्रय आदेशा भवंति ॥ इदं । इणं । इणमो[26] धणं ॥

॥ एतदः सावोत्वं वा ॥ १९ ॥

एतच्छब्दस्य सौ परत ओत्वं वा भवति ॥ नित्ये प्राप्ते विकल्प्यते ॥ एस[27] । एसो ॥ एषः ॥

॥ त्तो[28] ङसेः ॥ २० ॥

एतदः परस्य ङसेः त्तो इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ एत्तो[29] । एदादो । एदादु । एदाहि ॥ एतस्मात् ॥

॥ त्तोत्थयोस्तलोपः[30] ॥ २१ ॥

एतदस्तकारस्य त्तोत्थयोः परतो लोपो भवति ॥ एत्तो[31] । एत्थ ॥

॥ तदेतदोः सः सावनपुंसके ॥ २२ ॥

तच्छब्दस्य एतच्छब्दस्य यस्तकारः तस्य सकारादेशो भवति अनपुंसके सौ परतः ॥ सो पुरिसो । सा महिला । एस । एसो । एसा ॥ साविति[32] किं ॥ एदे । ते । एदं । तं ॥ अनपुंसक इति किं ॥ तं एदं धणं ॥

॥ अदसो दो मुः[33] ॥ २३ ॥

25 Added from DW. 26 A इणमं. 27 A एगा (?); W has as an ex. एदो एदं = एतत्. 28 DW त्तो. 29 BD (not W) एत्तो. 30 DW त्तो-. 31 D एत्तो; for these *cf.* Lass., p. 129. 32 साविति किं and its examples not in A. 33 A मू; B मूः.

अदसो दकारस्य सुपि परतो मु[34] इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ अमू पुरिसो। अमू महिला। अमूओ[35] पुरिसा। अमूओ[36] महिलाओ। अमु[37] वणं। अमूइं वणाइं ॥

॥ ह्रश्च सौ[38] ॥ २४ ॥

अदसो दकारस्य सौ परतो हकारादेशो भवति ॥ अह[39] पुरिसो। अह महिला। अह वणं ॥ हादेशो ऽयमोत्वात्वबिंदून् त्रिष्वपि लिंगेषु परत्वाद्बाधते ॥

॥ पदस्य ॥ २५ ॥

अधिकारो ऽयं। आशब्दविधानात्। यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः पदस्य तद्भवतीत्येवं वेदितव्यं। तच्च तत्रैवोदाहरिष्यामः ॥

॥ युष्मदस्तं तुमं[40] ॥ २६ ॥

सावित्येव। युष्मदः पदस्य सौ परतः तं तुमं इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥ तं आगदो। तुमं आगदो ॥

॥ तुं चामि[41] ॥ २७ ॥

युष्मदः पदस्य अमि परतः तुं इत्यादेशो वा भवति। तुमंच[42] ॥ तुं पेक्खामि। तुमं पेक्खामि ॥

॥ तुज्झे तुम्हे[43] जसि ॥ २८ ॥

34 AB मू. 35 So DE ; A om. ; B अमूणो ; W असूउ. 36 W अमूउ. 37 B अमू. 38 *cf.* Lass. Inst., p. 327. 39 B अहं throughout. 40 DE युष्मदस्तुं तुवं and similarly in Comm. 41 ABC त्तंचामि ; DE त्तंचामि ; W (and the Prákr. Sanjív.) तुंचामि ;—if त्तं be correct, it must be the enclitic form (*cf.* Lass. Inst., p. 328) but it is probably a mistake for तुं in copying from an MS in the Bengalî character. 42 W. तं तुमंच ; DE seem to give तुमंच as a new sútra, and add to this in its Comm. चकारात् तुं तुवंच. 43 MSS. ह्म here in the

युष्मदः पदस्य जसि परतः तुज्झे तुम्हे इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥ तुज्झे आगदा तुम्हे आगदा ॥

॥ वोच शसि ॥ २९ ॥

शसि युष्मदः पदस्य वो इत्यादेशो भवति। चकारात् तुज्झे तुम्हे च ॥ वो पेच्छामि ॥ तुज्झे तुम्हे पेच्छामि ॥

॥ टाङ्योस्तइ तए तुमए तुमे ॥ ३० ॥

युष्मदुत्तरयोः टा ङि इत्येतयोः तइ तए तुमए तुमे इत्येत आदेशा भवंति ॥ टा ॥ तइ तए तुमए तुमे कअं ॥ ङि ॥ तइ तए तुमए तुमे ठिअं ॥

॥ ङसि तुमोतुद्दतुज्झतुम्हतुम्माः[44] ॥ ३१ ॥

युष्मदः पदस्य ङसि तुमो तुद्द तुज्झ तुम्ह तुम्म इत्येत आदेशा भवंति ॥ तुमो पदं। तुद्द तुज्झ तुम्ह तुम्म पदं ॥

॥ आङि च ते दे ॥ ३२ ॥

आङि तृतीयैकवचने चकाराद् ङसि च परतो युष्मदः पदस्य ते दे इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥ ते कअं। दे कअं ॥ ते धणं। दे धणं ॥

॥ तुमाइ च ॥ ३३ ॥

आङि युष्मदः पदस्य तुमाइ इत्ययमादेशो भवति[45] ॥ तुमाइ कअं ॥

॥ तुज्झेहिं तुम्हेहिं तुम्मेहिं[46] भिसि ॥ ३४ ॥

भिसि परतो युष्मदः पदस्य तुज्झेहिं तुम्हेहिं तुम्मेहिं इत्येत आदेशा भवंति ॥ तुज्झेहिं तुम्हेहिं तुम्मेहिं कअं ॥

following sútras D generally has म्ह, the other MSS. ह्म (cf. iii., 8); W generally writes ह्म for ज्झ. 44 तुम्म plain in CEW; AB not clear, except in one ex.; D reads तुम्म, corrected in the margin to तुम्म; only D has तुन्द, the others तुद्द. 45 W adds चकारात् इति च. 46 So MSS. plainly; D as

॥ ङसौ तत्तो तइत्तो[47] तुमादो तुमादु तुमाहि[48] ॥ ३५ ॥

ङसौ परतो युष्मदः पदस्य तत्तो तइत्तो तुमादो तुमादु तुमाहि इत्येत आदेशा भवंति ॥ तत्तो आगदो । तइत्तो तुमादो तुमादु तुमाहि आगदो ॥ त्वदागतः ॥ [1]

॥ तुम्हाहिंतो तुम्हासुंतो भ्यसि ॥ ३६ ॥

युष्मदः पदस्य पंचमीबहुवचने भ्यसि तुम्हाहिंतो तुम्हासुंतो इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥ तुम्हाहिंतो तुम्हासुंतो आगदो ॥

॥ वो भे तुज्झाणं तुम्हाणमामि[49] ॥ ३७ ॥

आमि परतो युष्मदः पदस्य वो भे तुज्झाणं तुम्हाणं इत्येत आदेशा भवंति ॥ वो धणं । तुज्झाणं तुम्हाणं धणं ॥

॥ ङौ तुमम्मि ॥ ३८ ॥

युष्मदः पदस्य ङौ परतः तुमम्मि इत्यादेशो भवति ॥ तुमम्मि ठिअं ॥ पूर्वोक्ताश्च तइप्रभृतयश्चत्वारो ऽप्यादेशा भवंति[50] ॥

॥ तुज्झेसु तुम्हेसु[51] सुपि ॥ ३९ ॥

युष्मदः पदस्य सप्तमीबहुवचने तुज्झेसु तुम्हेसु इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥ तुज्झेसु ठिअं ॥

॥ अस्मदो हमहमहअं सौ ॥ ४० ॥

अस्मदः पदस्य सौ परतो हं अहं अहअं इत्येत आदेशा भवंति ॥ हं अहं अहअं करेमि ॥

[1] before, तुम्भेहिं, corrected in the margin ; only D म्ह for ह्म in the second form. 47 BD तत्तो तइत्तो, but B not so originally. 48 AW-इयः as a compound ; *cf.* s. 48. 49 So BDE ; A has वो भे तुझाणं तुम्माणं आमि ; W वो ते तुज्झाणं तुझाणमामि ; and similarly in the Comm. of each. 50 पूर्व—भवंति not in A ; *cf.* S. 30 51 So BDW (and

॥ अहम्मिरमिच[52] ॥ ४१ ॥

अमि परतो ऽस्मदः पदस्य अहम्मि इत्ययमादेशो भवति। सौ च ॥ अहम्मि पेक्ख । अहम्मि करेमि ॥ मां प्रेक्षस्व । अहं करोमि ॥

॥ मं ममं ॥ ४२ ॥

अमीति वर्तते । अस्मदः पदस्य अमि परतो मं ममं इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥ मं ममं पेक्ख ॥

॥ अम्हे जश्शसोः[53] ॥ ४३ ॥

अस्मदः पदस्य जश्शसोः परतः अम्हे इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ अम्हे आगदा । अम्हे पेक्ख ॥

॥ णो शसि[54] ॥ ४४ ॥

अस्मदः पदस्य शसि परतो णो इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ णो पेक्ख ॥ अस्मान् प्रेक्षस्व ॥

॥ ङसि मे ममाइ ॥ ४५ ॥

अस्मदः पदस्य ङसि परतो[55] मे ममाइ इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥ मे कज्जं । ममाइ कज्जं ॥

॥ ङौच मइ मए ॥ ४६ ॥

अस्मदः पदस्य ङौ परतो मइ मए इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः। चकारात्तृतीयैकवचनेव ॥ मइ मए ठिअं । मइ मए कज्जं ॥

॥ अम्हेहिं भिसि ॥ ४७ ॥

probably C); A तुम्हेसु तुम्हेसु as in s. 37; A has तुमेसु in ex.
52 A अहमि in sût. and ex.; W reads the sût. अहम्मि अमि.
53 A leaf (sûtras 43—58) is here lost in A (cf. Lass. Inst., p. 330); C has the missing sûtras, but often corrupt.
54 BCDE णे; W णो; Hema-ch. gives as his sût. अम्हे अम्हो अम्ह णे शसा. 55 B ङसिदशो.

अस्मदः पदस्य भिसि अम्हेहिं इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ अम्हेहिं कअं ॥

॥ मत्तो मइत्तो[56] ममादो ममादु[57] ममाहि ङसौ ॥ ४८ ॥

अस्मदः पदस्य ङसौ परत एत आदेशा भवंति ॥ मत्तो गदो । मइत्तो । ममादो ममादु ममाहि गदो ॥

॥ अम्हाहिंतो अम्हासुंतो भ्यसि[58] ॥ ४९ ॥

अस्मदः पदस्य भ्यसि परत अम्हाहिंतो अम्हासुंतो इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥ अम्हाहिंतो अम्हासुंतो गदो ॥

॥ मे मम मह मज्झ ङसि ॥ ५० ॥

अस्मदः पदस्य ङसि परत एत आदेशा भवंति ॥ मे धणं । मम मह मज्झ धणं ॥

॥ मज्झ णो[59] अम्ह अम्हाणमम्हे[60] आमि ॥ ५१ ॥

अस्मदः पदस्य आमि परत एत आदेशा भवंति ॥ मज्झ[61] णो अम्ह अम्हाणं अम्हे धणं ॥ अस्माकं धनं ॥

॥ ममम्मि ङौ ॥ ५२ ॥

अस्मदः पदस्य ङौ परतो ममम्मि इत्यादेशो भवति ॥ ममम्मि ठिअं ॥ पूर्वोक्तौ मइ मए इत्येतौच[62] ॥

॥ अम्हेसु सुपि[63] ॥ ५३ ॥

अस्मदः पदस्य सप्तमीबहुवचने सुपि परतः अम्हेसु इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ अम्हेसु ठिअं ॥

56 B ममत्तो. 57 B om. ; sútras 48, 49 desunt in C. 58 B अम्हेहिंतो अम्हेसुंतो. 59 W मज्झाणो' 60 BC om. अम्हे ; the Prák. Sanj. om: मज्झ and varies between णो and णे. 61 BC मज्झणो (in one word) ; W मज्झाणो ; E has no Comm ; only D मज्झ धणं णो धणं, which Hema-ch. confirms. 62 पूर्वे—तौच added from B ; cf. S. 46. 63 D अम्हेसुं.

॥ द्वेर्दो ॥ ५४ ॥

पदस्येति निवृत्तं । सुपीति वर्तते ॥ द्विशब्दस्य दो इत्ययमादेशो भवति सुपि परतः ॥ दोहिं । दोसु[64] ॥ द्वाभ्यां । द्वयोः ॥

॥ त्रेस्तिः[65] ॥ ५५ ॥

त्रिशब्दस्य सुपि परतः ति इत्यादेशो भवति ॥ तीहि[66] । तीसु[67] ॥ त्रिभिः । त्रिषु ॥

॥ तिण्णि[68] जश्शस्भ्यां ॥ ५६ ॥

त्रिशब्दस्य जश्शस्भ्यां सह तिण्णि इत्यादेशो भवति ॥ तिण्णि आगदा । तिण्णि पेक्ख ॥ त्रय आगताः । त्रीन्प्रेक्षस्व ॥

॥ द्वेर्दुवे दोण्णि वा ॥ ५७ ॥

द्विशब्दस्य जश्शस्भ्यां सह दुवे दोण्णि इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥ दुवे कुणंति । दोण्णि कुणंति ॥ पक्षे दो कुणंति ॥ द्वौ कुरुतः ॥ दुवे पेक्ख । दोण्णि पेक्ख । पक्षे दो पेक्ख ॥ द्वौ प्रेक्षस्व ॥

॥ चतुरश्चत्तारो चत्तारि ॥ ५८ ॥

चतुर्शब्दस्य जश्शस्भ्यां सह चत्तारो[69] चत्तारि इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥ चत्तारो चत्तारि पुरिसा कुणंति । चत्तारो चत्तारि पुरिसे पेक्ख[70] ॥

॥ एषामामो एहं[71] ॥ ५९ ॥

64 D दोसुं. 65 W (and the *Práka. Sanj.*) तैस्ती. 66 So W ; the other MSS. ति-. 67 So CW ; the others तिसु (D -सु). The Prák. Sanj., Sanksh. Sára, and Hema-ch. all have *i* ; *cf.* Lass., Inst., p. 102. 68 B तिन्न (*sic*) ; C तिण्ण : D तिण्णि ; E तिन्नि (*sic*) ; W तिण्णि ; *cf.* Lass., p. 319. 69 A recommences here ; *cf.* p. 55, note 2. 70 W adds भिसादो रेफतथरलोर्दैंषः । तेन पउर्हि etc. 71 A ह throughout.

एषां द्वित्रिचतुः शब्दानामामः स्थाने ण्हं प्रत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ दोण्हं धणं। तिण्हं धणं। चतुण्हं[72] धणं ॥

॥ सुपो ऽदंतवत् ॥ ६० ॥

शेषः सुब्विधिरदंतवद्भवति[73]। अकारांताद्भिसो हिं इत्ययमादेश उक्त इकारोकारांतादपि भवति। अग्गीहिं वाऊहिं। एवं मालाहि णईहिं वहूहिं। अग्गिस्स वाउस्स। अग्गीदो। वाऊदो। अग्गीदु। वाऊदु। एवं दोहिं तीहिं[74] चऊहिं ॥

॥ न ङिङस्योरेदातौ ॥ ६१ ॥

इकारोकारांतानां[75] ङिङस्योरदंतवद् एकाराकारौ[76] न भवत.[77]। अग्गिम्मि वाउम्मि। अग्गीदो वाऊदो। अग्गीदु वाऊदु। अग्गीहि वाऊहि[78] ॥

॥ ए[79] भ्यसि ॥ ६२ ॥

नेत्यनुवर्तते। भ्यसि परत इकारोकारांतयोरदंतवदेत्वं न भवति ॥ अग्गीहिंतो वाऊहिंतो ॥ अग्गीसुंतो। वाऊसुंतो ॥

॥ द्विवचनस्य बहुवचनं ॥ ६३ ॥

सर्वासां विभक्तीनां सुपां तिङांच द्विवचनस्य बहुवचनं

72 ACDE चतुण्हं ; W चउण्हं , B om. and confuses the Comm. of ss. 59, 60. 73 So D ; A शेषेषु विधि-. 74 W तीहि ; the rest त्तिहिं ; *cf.* note 4, p. 57: *mox* W चऊहिं: A चहुहिं , BDE चउहिं , the other Gram. have *ú*. 75 A इकारोतात् ; B -ताना ; W इकाराद्यंतानां. 76 *cf.* v. 6, 9. 77 W added न to the sút., and, therefore, adds erroneously here चकाराद् भिमि च. 78 The MSS. have अग्गीहि. etc., the anusw. being optionally added or not by *S.* iv. 16. 79 ACDE (and the Prák. Sanj.) ए ; BW आ ; and similarly in the comm. ; *cf.* v. 12, and Lass., p. 310.

प्रयोक्तव्यं ॥ वृक्षौ । वच्छा ॥ वृक्षाभ्यां । वच्छेहिं । वच्छाहिंतो ॥ वृक्षयोः । वच्छाण । वच्छेसु ॥

तिङो यथा ॥ तिष्ठतः । चिट्ठंति ॥

॥ चतुर्थ्याः[80] षष्ठी ॥ ६४ ॥

चतुर्थीविभक्तेः स्थाने षष्ठीविभक्तिर्भवति ॥ वम्हणस्स[81] देहि । वम्हणाण देहि ॥ ब्राह्मणाय देहि । ब्राह्मणेभ्यो देहि ॥

॥ इति वररुचिकृते प्राकृतप्रकाशे सर्वनाम परिच्छेदः षष्ठः ॥

80 A चतुर्थी. 81 A बंभण- ; D बम- (but corrected in marg.).

॥ अथ सप्तमः परिच्छेदः ॥

॥ ततिपोरिदेतौ[1] ॥ १ ॥

त तिप् इत्येतयोरेकैकस्य स्थाने इत् एत् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥ पढइ[2] पढए । सहइ सहए ॥ पठति पठते । सहति सहते ॥

॥ थास्सिपोः[3] सि से ॥ २ ॥

थास् सिप् इत्येतयोरेकैकस्य[4] स्थाने सि से इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥ पढसि पढसे । सहसि सहसे ॥

॥ इट्मिपोर्मिः[5] ॥ ३ ॥

इट् मिप् इत्येतयोः स्थाने मिर्भवति ॥ पढामि[6] । हसामि । सहामि ॥

॥ न्तिहेत्थामोमुमा[7] बहुषु ॥ ४ ॥

बहुषु वर्तमानानां तिङां स्थाने न्ति ह इत्था[8] मो मु म इत्येत आदेशा भवंति ॥ प्रथमपुरुषस्य । रमंति[9] । पढंति । हसंति ॥ मध्यमस्य ॥ रमह । हसह । पढित्था[10] ॥ उत्तमस्य ॥ पढामो[11] पढमु । पढम ॥

1 BD ते. 2 The MSS. often read पठ ; *cf.* ii., 24. 3 So MSS. ; it is reversed in the comm. of S. 5. 4 एकै- not in A. 5 A मि. 6 A पढमि, etc. 7 AW त्ति in sút. and 8 ABD इत्था श्रामो ; W इत्थ श्रमो ; Hema-ch. and the Prákṛita Sanj. have इत्था and मो, which seems better ; *cf.* S. 7; E has no comm. 9 The anusw. in these ex. erased in A ; W seems to have रमत्ति, etc. 10 ADE पढित्था ; B पढीत्था ; W पढित्थ *cf.* Lass., p. 336, and *infra.* sút. 17. 11 E पढमो ; *cf.* S. 31.

॥ अत ए मे ॥ ५ ॥

नित्यार्थं वचनं यतो विशेषणं। ततिपोः सिप्थासोर् ए से इत्यादेशावत एव परौ भवत[12]। नान्यस्मात्॥ ततिपोः। रमए पढए॥ सिप्थासोः। रमसे पढसे॥ अत इति किं। होइ। भवति॥

॥ अस्तेर्लोपः[13] ॥ ६ ॥

अस्तेर्धातोः थास्सिपोरादेशयोः परतो[14] लोपो भवति॥

सुतो[15] सि। पुरिसो सि॥ सुप्तो ऽसि। पुरुषो ऽसि॥

॥ [16]मिमोमुमानामधोहश्च[17] ॥ ७ ॥

मिमोमुमानामस्तेः परेषामधो हकारः प्रयोक्तव्यः। अस्तेश्च लोपः॥ गओ म्हि। गअ म्हो। गअ म्हु। गअ म्ह[18]॥ गतो ऽस्मि। गताः स्मः॥

॥ यक ईअइज्जौ ॥ ८ ॥

यकः स्थाने ईअ इज्ज इत्यादेशौ भवतः॥ पढीअइ पढिज्जइ। सहीअइ सहिज्जइ॥ पठ्यते। सह्यते॥

॥ नांत्यद्वित्वे ॥ ९ ॥

धातोरंत्यद्वित्वे सति यक ईअ इज्ज इत्यादेशौ न भवतः॥ हस्सइ। गम्मइ॥ गम्यते। हस्यते॥ गमादीनां विकल्पेन द्वित्वविधानात्[19]। द्वित्वविधान उक्तावादेशौ न भवतः। द्वित्वा-

12 नित्य—भवत: from BD; A is obscure here; *cf.* SS. 1, 2, and Lass. Inst., p. 336; B has यावत् for यतो, and both have तेतिपोः, as in S. 1. W for '*nityartham-viśeṣaṇam*' has '*niyamartham vachanam*'. 13 A अस्तेर्लपः. 14 E परयोः; A अस्तेर्धातोः परतः थास्सिपोर्लोपः. 15 A सुणो. 16 A om. मु in sút. and comm. 17 W मध्ये in sút. and comm.; B *n. l.* 18 A gives the plur. ex. गआ म्ह गओ म्ह; B has गओ throughout; W adds *samyogapúrvo hrasvah*; *cf.* iv. 1, note. 19 *cf.* viii., 58; A merely quotes the sút.; the

विधाने तु भवत एव ॥ गमीअइ । गमिज्जइ ॥

॥ न्तमाणौ[20] शतृशानचोः ॥ १० ॥

शतृ शानच् इत्येतयोरेकैकस्य न्त माण इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥ पढंतो । पढमाणो । हसंतो[21] । हसमाणो ॥

॥ ईच[22] स्त्रियां ॥ ११ ॥

स्त्रियां वर्तमानयोः शतृशानचोरीकारादेशो भवति । न्तमाणौ च ॥ हसई । हसंती । हसमाणा ॥ वेवई । वेवंती । वेवमाणा ॥

॥ धातोर्भविष्यति हिः[23] ॥ १२ ॥

भविष्यति काले धातोः परो हिशब्दः प्रयोक्तव्यः ॥ होहिइ । हसिहिइ[24] ॥ होहिंति । हसिहिंति ॥ भविष्यति । हसिष्यति । भविष्यंति । हसिष्यंति ॥

॥ उत्तमे स्सा हा च ॥ १३ ॥

भविष्यत्युत्तमे स्सा हा इत्येतौ प्रयोक्तव्यौ । चकाराद् हिश्च ॥ होस्सामि । होहामि । होहिमि । होस्सामो । होहामो । होहिमो[25] । इत्यादि ॥ भविष्यामि । भविष्यामः ॥

॥ मिना[26] स्सं वा ॥ १४ ॥

भविष्यत्युत्तमे मिना सह धातोः परः स्संशब्दः प्रयोक्तव्यो वा ॥ होस्सं । पक्षे होस्सामि । होहामि । होहिमि[27] ॥

rest is given from BD; W absurdly makes a new sútra of it, besides having it in Sect. viii. 20 DE त for न्त throughout. 21 The MSS. vary between सह and हस. 22 DW ईच ; A इत् ; B इच ; all have ई in the ex.. 23 AD हि. 24 होहोइ हसिहोइ. 25 BDW add the pl. forms in म and मु, हस्सामु etc. 26 W मिणा. 27 D adds हसिस्सं etc.

[॥ मोमुमैर्हिस्साहित्था[28] ॥ १५ ॥]

भविष्यति काल उत्तमे बहुवचनादेशस्य मो मु म इत्येतैः सह हिस्सा हित्था इत्येतावादेशौ वा[29] भवतः ॥ होहिस्सा होहित्था । हसिहिस्सा हसिहित्था ॥ भविष्यामः । हसिष्यामः ॥ पक्षे । होहिमो । होस्सामो[30] । होहामो । हसिहिमो[31] । हसिस्सामो । हसिहामो । एवं मुमयोरपि[32] । इत्यादि ॥

[॥ [33]कृदाश्रुवचिगमिरुदिदृशिविदिरूपाणां काहं दाहं सोच्छं वोच्छं[34] गच्छं रोच्छं[35] दच्छं वेच्छं ॥ १६ ॥]

भविष्यति काल उत्तमैकवचने कृञादीनां स्थाने यथासंख्यं काहं प्रभृतय आदेशा भवंति ॥ कहं करिष्यामि । दाहं दास्यामि । सोच्छं श्रोष्यामि । वोच्छं वक्ष्यामि । गच्छं गमिष्यामि । रोच्छं रोदिष्यामि । दच्छं द्रक्ष्यामि । वेच्छं वेत्स्यामि इत्यादि[36] ॥

[श्रुवादीनां त्रिष्वप्यनुस्वारवर्जं[37] हिलोपश्च वा ॥ १७ ॥]

श्रु इत्येवमादीनां प्रथममध्यमोत्तमेषु त्रिष्वपि पुरुषेषु परतो भविष्यति काले सोच्छं इत्यादय आदेशा भवंति । अनुस्वारं विहाय । हिलोपश्च वा ॥

सोच्छिइ सोच्छिहिइ । श्रोष्यति ॥ सोच्छिंति । सोच्छिहिंति । श्रोष्यंति ॥ सोच्छिसि सोच्छिहिसि । श्रोष्यसि ॥ सोच्छित्था । सोच्छिहित्था[38] । श्रोष्यथ ॥ सोच्छिमि । सोच्छिहिमि । श्रोष्यामि ॥

28 sûtras 15—22 are only found in BDEW ; for sút. 15, *cf*. Lass. Inst.. p. 353. 29 BW om. 30 B होहिस्सामो (?). 31 DW om. 32 B gives these in full. 33 *cf*. Lass. p. 351 for this sút. 34 B सोत्य॰ वोत्य॰ ; the other MSS. prefer छ. 35 So W; BDE दच्छं. 36 W adds रूपमहणादन्यत्रापि । यथा मोच्छं पेच्छं । मोक्ष्यामि प्रेक्ष्यामि. 37 W om. ऽपि ; for sút., *cf*. Lass., p. 353. 38 So BW; DE -त्थ in both ex. ; *cf*. vii. 4.

सोच्छिमो। सोच्छिहिमो। सोच्छिमु। सोच्छिहिमु। सोच्छिम। सोच्छिहिम। सोच्छिस्सामो। सोच्छिस्सामु। सोच्छिस्साम[39] ॥ श्रोष्यामः ॥ एवं वोच्छादिरपि ॥

[॥ उसुमु[40] विध्यादिस्वेकस्मिन् ॥ १८ ॥]

विध्यादिस्वेकस्मिन्नुत्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य यथासंख्यं उ सु मु इत्येत आदेशा भवंति[41] ॥ हसउ। हससु। हसमु[42] ॥ हसतु। हस। हसानि ॥

[॥ न्तुहमो[43] बहुषु ॥ १९ ॥]

विध्यादिषु बहुषूत्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य यथासंख्यं न्तु ह मो इत्येत आदेशा भवंति ॥ हसंतु[44]। हसह। हसामो[45] ॥

॥ वर्तमानभविष्यदनद्यतनयोर्ज्जज्जा[46] वा ॥ २० ॥

वर्तमाने भविष्यदनद्यतने विध्यादिषु[47] चोत्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य ज्ज ज्जा इत्येतावादेशौ वा भवतः। पक्षे यथाप्राप्तं। वर्तमाने तावत्। होज्ज होज्जा। हसेज्ज हसेज्जा। पक्षे होइ हसइ[48] ॥ भविष्यदनद्यतने। होज्ज होज्जा। पक्षे होहिइ इत्यादि ॥ विध्यादिष्वेवं[49] ॥

39 W adds सोच्छिहामो -मु -म सोच्छिस्सा सोच्छिहित्था वोच्छिहिस्सा ; the Comm. in B is corrupt, but seems = W ; both further add *vocbha* at full length. 40 W उहिसु. 41 E adds लिङनुवर्तते. 42 DE add वेच्छउ -सु -मु ; W's ex. are होउ हसउ। होहि हसहि। होसु हसमु, the last two = भवानि हसानि. It then adds आदिग्रहणादामंत्रणादयो ग्राह्याः ; B adds a very long Comm. applying these forms at full length to the potent. 1st and 3rd pret, 1st fut. and bened. 43 W हु-. 44 W हसडु. 45 W हसमो. 46 Only W has -तनयोश्च ज्ज- ; E has throughout *adya* for *anadya* ; *cf*. Lass. pp. 357, 358. 47 W adds चकारात् here. 48 BW add एवं पुरुषत्रये ऽपि एकवचनबहुवचनरूपाणि बोद्धव्यानि which Hema-ch. also seems to allow. 49 So E ; D om. ; BW add as ex, होज्ज होज्जा। करेज्ज करेज्जा। with

[॥ मध्येच[50] ॥ २१ ॥

वर्तमानभविष्यदनद्यतनयोर्विध्यादिषु च धातुप्रत्यययोर्मध्ये ज्ज ज्जा इत्येतावादेशौ वा भवतः[51] ॥ वर्तमाने। होज्जइ होज्जाइ। पक्षे यथाप्राप्त[52]। विध्यादिषु। होज्जउ होज्जाउ[53]। भवेदित्यादि[54] ॥

[॥ नानेकाचः[55] ॥ २२ ॥]

वर्तमानभविष्यदनद्यतनयोर्विध्यादिषु चानेकाचो धातोः प्रत्यये परे मध्ये ज्ज ज्जा इत्येतावादेशौ न भवतः किंत्वंतः एव भवतः ॥ हसइ तुवरइ ॥ अंते यथा हसेज्ज[56] हसेज्जा तुवरेज्ज[57] तुवरेज्जा। एवमन्येऽप्युदाहर्तव्याः[58] ॥

॥ ईअ भूते[59] ॥ २३ ॥

the following Sans. expl भवेत् कुर्यात् कुर्वीत भवतु भवतात् करोतु कुरुतात् अभवत् अकरोत् अकुरुत बभूव चकार चक्रे इत्यादि।; Hema ch in his corresponding sút. agrees with DE, but adds *anye tu anyásám apichchanti; hojja, bbavati, bhavet, bhavatu, abbavat, abhút, babhuva, bhuyát bhavitá bhavisyati abhavisyadvā ityarthah.* 50 DE मध्यमे च. 51 E gives ex. without Comm. 52 Only W adds भविष्यति होज्जल-इ 53 DE om. 54 W भवतु, B adds भवेत् भवतु etc, as in s 20 55 D (not E) om. this sút, and much of Comm, but it is supplied in margin. 56 D हसिज्ज, E has इ for *e* in all 57 D तुवरिज्ज. 58 BW om. and add पढेज्ज-ज्जा। करेज्ज-ज्जा 59 ADE इअ, B ईअ. W has three sutras ईअ भूते ॥ भूते वर्तमानाद्धातो प्रत्ययस्य ईअ आदेश स्यात् ॥ आसीअ। गेहीअ। हसीअ। पढीअ ॥ आसीत्। अग्रहीत्। अहसत्। अपठत्। इत्यादि। पुरुषत्रयरूपाणि एकवचनबहूवचनरूपाणि च बोद्धव्यानि, then follow एगाचो हीअ ॥ (s 24) and इअ भूते ॥ भूते काले धातो. प्रत्ययस्य इअ इत्यादेश। भाविअ हविअं

भूते काले धातोः प्रत्ययस्य ईअ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ हुवीअ हसीअ[60] ॥ अभवत् । अहसत् ॥

॥ एकाचो हीअ[61] ॥ २४ ॥

भूते काल एकाचो धातोः प्रत्ययस्य हीअ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ होहीअ[62] ॥ अभूत[63] ॥

॥ अस्तेरासिः[64] ॥ २५ ॥

अस्तेर्भूते काल एकस्मिन्नर्थे आसि इति निपात्यते ॥ आसि राआ । आसि वहू ॥ आसीद्राजा । आसद्वधूः ॥

॥ णिच एदादेरत आत् ॥ २६ ॥

णिच् प्रत्ययस्य एकारादेशो भवति । धातोरादेरकारस्य च आत्वं भवति ॥ कारेइ । हासेइ । पाढेइ ॥ कारयति । हासयति । पाठयति ॥

॥ आवे च ॥ २७ ॥

णिच आवे इत्ययमादेशो भवति । चकारात् पूर्वोक्तंच[65] ॥ करावेइ[66] ।

पढिअं । भासितं हसितं पठितं (W in fact gives the var. readings of *one* sút. as two); the copyists add anusw. wrongly, as if the rule applied to the past participle (for which *vide* s. 32), *cf.* Lass., p. 354; Hema-ch., the Pr. Sanj., and the Sanksh. Sára read ईअ. The Pr. Sanj. adds in Comm., *sarvesu purusesu sarvesu vachanesu*, and expl. *bhúta* by लुङ् लङ् and लिट्. 60 ADE भविअं हसिअं; B हुविअं (*cf.* viii., 1) करीअं हसोअं ।; none give Sans. expl.; the Pr. Sanj. हुवीअ. 61 A हिअ in sút., but हीअ in Comm.; BDE हीअं; W (and the Pr. Sanj.) हीअ; *cf.* Lass., p. 354. 62 W adds काहीअ एदाहीअ । चकार अदात्. Only in W; W then adds a new sút., ल्यप् कारे हीअ; see App. 64 A only आसी. 65 W एत्वं. 66 B कारा-; all the ex. in W have *á*

हसावेइ । पढावेइ[67] । करावेइ[68] इत्यादि ॥

॥ आविः क्तकर्मभावेषु वा ॥ २८ ॥

णिच आविरादेशो भवति वा क्तप्रत्यये परतो भावकर्मणोश्च ॥ काराविअं[69] हसाविअं पढाविअं । कारिअं हासिअं पाढिअं ॥ भावकर्मणोश्च कराविज्जइ । हसाविज्जइ । पढाविज्जइ । कारिज्जइ । हासिज्जइ । पाढिज्जइ ॥ कारितं । हासितं । पाठितं । कार्यते । हास्यते । पाठ्यते ॥

[नैदावे[70] ॥ २९ ॥]

क्तभावकर्मसु णिच्प्रत्ययस्य एत् आवे इत्येतावादेशौ न भवतः ॥ कारिअं । कराविअं[71] । कारिज्जइ । कराविज्जइ[72] ॥

॥ अत आ मिपि वा ॥ ३० ॥

अकारांताद्धातोर् मिपि परत आकारादेशो भवति वा ॥ हसामि । हसमि ॥

॥ इच्च बहुषु ॥ ३१ ॥

मिपो बहुषु परतो ऽत इकारादेशो भवति। चकारादाकारश्च[73] ॥ हसिमो । हसामो । हसिमु । हसामु[74] ॥

॥ क्ते ॥ ३२ ॥

क्तप्रत्यये परतो ऽत इर्भवति ॥ हसिअं । पढिअं ॥

॥ एच्च[75] क्त्वातुमुन्तव्यभविष्यत्सु ॥ ३३ ॥

क्त्वा तुमुन् तव्य इत्येतेषु भविष्यति काले च अत एत्वं भवति ।

67 B पटे-. 68 BD om. 69 W का-, and similarly *á* in all the ex. 70 This *sút.* not in AC; B has it, but corrupt; W reads एनावे ; DE as above (E adds क्तभाव- in *sút.*); the MSS. agree in Comm. ; *cf.* Lass. pp. 360, 363. 71 EW काराविअं but कराविज्जइ. 72 BW add the forms of पढ and हस. 73 AD आच. 74 BW add हसिम हसाम. 75 BW एच.

चकारादिश्च ॥ हसेऊण हसिऊण[76]। हसेउं हसिउं। हसेअव्वं हसिअव्वं[77]। हसेहिइ हसिहिइ ॥

॥ लादेशे वा ॥ ३४ ॥

लकारादेशे परतो ऽत् एत्वं भवति वा ॥ हसइ हसइ। पढेइ पढइ। हसेंति हसंति। हसेउ हसउ ॥

इति वररुचिकृते प्राकृतप्रकाशे तिङ्विधिर्नाम सप्तमः परिच्छेदः ॥

76 AB -उण ; *cf.* IV., 24. 77 W हसेव्वं हसिव्वं.

॥ अथाष्टमः परिच्छेदः ॥

॥ भुवो होहुवौ ॥ १ ॥

भू सत्तायां। एतस्य धातोर्हो हुव इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥ होइ हुवइ। होंति हुवंति[1] ॥

॥ क्ते हुः[2] ॥ २ ॥

भुवः क्तप्रत्यये परतो हु इत्यादेशो भवति ॥ हुअं[3] ॥

॥ प्रादेर्भवः ॥ ३ ॥

प्रादेरुत्तरस्य भुवो भव इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ पभवइ। उब्भवइ। संभवइ। परिभवइ ॥

॥ त्वरस्तुवरः ॥ ४ ॥

ञित्वरा संभ्रमे। अस्य धातोस्तुवर इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ तुवरइ ॥

॥ क्ते तुरः ॥ ५ ॥

क्तप्रत्यये तुर इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ तुरिअं ॥

॥ घुणो[4] घोलः ॥ ६ ॥

घुणघूर्ण[5] भ्रमणे। अस्य धातोर्घोल इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ घोलइ ॥

॥ णुनो णाहुः[6] ॥ ७ ॥

1 BW add several more ex., B corrupt ; W होहिइ होउ etc. 2 A ह BD हु ; W हु·, the Pr. Sanj. हु. 3 BD हुअं. 4 A घोणो ; D घूर्णो 5 A घुण घर्ण. 6 D for this जुदो सोदः ॥ जुद प्रेरणे अस्य धातोर्जुद इत्यादेशो भवति। सोदइ पसोदइ, E जुदेर्सोदः with ex. सोदइ पसोदइ ; B has both sút. confused ; W has

णुद प्रेरणे। अस्य धातोर्णोल्ल इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ णोल्लइ। पणोल्लइ ॥

॥ दूङो दूमः ॥ ८ ॥

दूङ् परितापे। अस्य धातोर्दूमादेशो भवति ॥ दूमइ[7] ॥

॥ पटेः फलः ॥ ९ ॥

अटपटगतौ[8]। अस्य धातोः फल इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ फलिअं[9] हिअअं ॥

॥ पदेः[10] पालः ॥ १० ॥

पद गतौ। अस्य धातोः पाल इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ पालेइ[11]।

॥ वृषकृषमृषहृषामृतो ऽरिः ॥ ११ ॥

वृषादीनामृतः स्थान अरि इत्यादेशो भवति ॥ वरिसइ। करिसइ। मरिसइ। हरिसइ ॥

॥ ऋतो ऽरः ॥ १२ ॥

ऋकारांतस्य धातोर्ऋतः स्थान अर इत्यादेशो भवति ॥ मृ। मरइ ॥ सृ। सरइ ॥ वृ। वरइ ॥

॥ कृञः कुणो वा ॥ १३ ॥

डुकृञ् करणे। अस्य धातोः प्रयोगे कुणो वा भवति ॥ कुणइ। करइ ॥

first णुदी णोलः with ex. णोलइ णोल्लइ। गमादित्वाद्द्वित्वं ; then नुदो ल्लोण· with ex. ल्लोणइ पल्लोणइ ; the Sanksh. S. (in Delius) has णुद् णोल्लण ; the Pr. Sanj. as in text 7 B adds दुम्मेइ. 8 A (not C) अट परिगतौ ; B पटगतौ. 9 BW फलइ ; W om. हिअअं. 10 D पदः ; this sūt. is supplied in marg. of A, but is in the text of C. 11 BW add पालइ.

॥ जृभो[12] जंभाअः ॥ १४ ॥

जभ जृभी[13] गात्रविनामे। अस्य धातोर्जंभाअ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ जंभाअइ[14] ॥

॥ ग्रहेर्गेण्हः ॥ १५ ॥

ग्रह उपादाने। अस्य धातोर्गेण्हो भवति ॥ गेण्हइ ॥

॥ घेत्[15] त्क्वातुमुन्तव्येषु ॥ १६ ॥

ग्रहेर्घेत् इत्ययमादेशो भवति क्त्वातुमुन्तव्येषु परतः ॥ घेत्तूण[16]। घेत्तुं। घेत्तव्वं ॥

॥ कृञः का भूतभविष्यतोश्च ॥ १७ ॥

भूतभविष्यतोः कालयोः कृञः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति। चकारात् क्त्वातुमुन्तव्येषु परतः ॥ काहीअ[17] काहिइ[18]। काऊण। काउं। काअव्वं ॥

॥ स्मरतेर्भरसुमरौ[19] ॥ १८ ॥

स्मृ चिंतायां। अस्य धातोर्भरसुमरौ भवतः ॥ भरइ। सुमरइ ॥

12 W जृंभो; B reads the sút. जृंभो जंभालः. 13 So D; A om. जभ; B जभि जृंभि; W जभीजृभि; *cf.* Westerg., sect. 10,29. 14 B जंभालइ. 15 W घेत्; the others घे (the Pr. Sanj. घेत्त) and so in Comm. *Qy.* घेत्त् (?) *cf.* iv., 23. 16 In the ex. ABCW have त्त (B once घेऊण; *cf.* iv. 23); DE त, as घेतूण etc.; *cf.* Mrich. Stenz., p. 22, 8. 17 A काहिअं; B कारिअ; D काहिअ (altered to काहीअं) EW काहीअं; W explains it by कृतं, but *cf.* note to vii., 24, where W gives काहीअ as an ex.=चकार; the other MSS. have no Sans. expl. 18 E काहिइं (and so D, but altered). 19 All the MSS. and the Sanksh. Sára (*cf.* Delius, p. 11, note) भर; A has सुमर also, but orig. सुमर like the rest.

॥ भियो[20] भावीहौ ॥ १९ ॥

ञिभी भये। अस्य धातोर्भावीहौ भवतः ॥ भाइ। वीहइ ॥

[॥ जिघ्रतेः पापाऔ[21] ॥ २० ॥]

घ्रा गंधग्रहणे। अस्य धातोः पा पाअ इत्यादेशौ भवतः ॥ पाइ पाअइ ॥

॥ म्लै वावाऔ[22] ॥ २१ ॥

॥ म्लै गात्रविनामे[23]। अस्य धातोर्वावाऔ भवतः ॥ वाइ। वाअइ ॥

॥ तृपस्थिंपः ॥ २२ ॥

तृप तृंप तृप्तौ। अस्य धातोस्थिंपो भवति ॥ थिंपइ ॥

॥ ज्ञो जाणमुणौ[24] ॥ २३ ॥

ज्ञा अवबोधने। अस्य धातोर्जाणमुणौ भवतः ॥ जाणइ। मुणइ ॥

॥ जल्पेर्लो मः ॥ २४ ॥

जल्प व्यक्तायां वाचि। अस्य धातोर्लकारस्य मकारो भवति ॥ जंपइ ॥

॥ ष्ठाध्यागानां ठाअझाअगाआः[25] ॥ २५ ॥

ष्ठा गतिनिवृत्तौ। ध्यै चिंतायां। कै गै रै शब्दे। एतेषां ठाअ झाअ गाअ इत्येत आदेशा भवंति ॥ ठाअंति। झाअंति[26]। गाअंति ॥

[॥ ठाझागाश्च वर्तमानभविष्यद्विध्याद्येकवचनेषु[27] ॥ २६ ॥]

20 W भिणो. 21 This sút. not in AC; in DE it follows s. 21. 22 BW -वाअ. 23 W हर्षक्षये; *cf.* Westerg. sect. 22, 8. 24 A om.; B ज्ञा; for *muṇa*, *cf.* Lenz, App. Crit., p. 15. 25 Aw ज्झ (W झ्झ); E ज; the Pr. Sanj. झ; and so in Comm. of each; D य throughout in ss. 25, 26; B om. sút., but gives झ in Comm. 26 A झ; DEW as before; B om. 27 This sút. not in AC; W has only ठाझागाश्च; E for झ has य

ष्ठाध्यागानां ठा झा गा इत्यादेशा भवंति चकारात् पूर्वोक्ताश्च वर्तमानभविष्यद्विध्याद्येकवचनेषु परतः ॥ ठाइ ठाअइ। ठाहिइ ठाअहिइ। ठाउ ठाअउ ॥ झाइ झाअइ। झाहिइ झाअहिइ। झाउ झाअउ ॥ गाइ गाअइ। गाहिइ गाअहिइ। गाइ गाअइ ॥

[॥ खादिधाव्योः[28] खाधौ ॥ २७ ॥]

खादृ[29] भक्षणे। धावु[30] जवे[31]। एतयोर्धात्वोः खा धा इत्यादेशौ भवतः। वर्तमानभविष्यद्विध्याद्येकवचनेषु ॥ खाइ। खाहिइ। खाउ ॥ धाइ। धाहिइ। धाउ ॥

॥ ग्रसेर्विसः[32] ॥ २८ ॥

ग्रसु ग्लसु अदने। अस्य धातोर्विसो भवति ॥ विसइ ॥

॥ चिञश्चिणः ॥ २९ ॥

चिञ् चयने। अस्य धातोश्चिणो भवति ॥ चिणइ ॥

॥ क्रञः[33] किणः[34] ॥ ३० ॥

डुक्रीञ् द्रव्यविनिमये। अस्य धातोः किणो भवति ॥ किणइ ॥

॥ वेः क्के च[35] ॥ ३१ ॥

वेरुत्तरस्य क्रीञः क्के आदेशः किणादेशश्च भवति ॥ विक्केइ। विक्किणइ ॥

(like D). 28 This sút. not in AC; B खाइधाव्योः; W reads sút. खादधावलोः खा धा. 29 D खादि; W खाद; D om. भ-. 30 So W; B धाव; D धावि. 31 D om.; W गतिशुद्ध्योः 32 The MSS. *have* व्व (W व) here, but, as AB have व in Comm., and E's Bengálí व्व is clear, Delius' घ is probably incorrect (घ, व्व and व being so alike in MSS.): the MSS. have व्व in ex. (W व). 33 D क्रिय.. 34 A क्रि- throughout. 35 W वेः केणो वा ॥ with ex. विक्केणइ विक्किणइ; the Prák. Sanj. as in text.

॥ उद्ध्म[36] उद्धुमा ॥ ३२ ॥

ध्मा शब्दाग्निसंयोगयोः। अस्य धातोरुत्पूर्वस्य उद्धुमा भवति ॥ उद्धुमाइ[37] ॥

॥ श्रद्धो धो दहः ॥ ३३ ॥

श्रच्छब्दादुत्तरस्य डुधाञ् धारणपोषणयोः। अस्य धातोर्दहादेशो भवति ॥ सद्दहइ। सद्दहिअं ॥

॥ अवाद्गाहेर्वाहः[38] ॥ ३४ ॥

गाहू[39] विलोडने। अस्य धातोरवादुत्तरस्य वाहादेशो भवति ॥ ओवाहइ। अववाहइ ॥

॥ कासेर्वासः[40] ॥ ३५ ॥

अवादित्यनुवर्तते। कासृ शब्दकुत्सायां। अस्य धातोरवादुत्तरस्य वासो भवति ॥ ओवासइ। अववासइ ॥

॥ निरो माङो माणः[41] ॥ ३६ ॥

माङ् माने। अस्य धातोर्निरुत्तरस्य माणादेशो भवति। णिम्माणइ[42]।

॥ क्षियो[43] झिज्जः[44] ॥ ३७ ॥

क्षि क्षये। अस्य धातोर्झिज्जो भवति ॥ झिज्जइ ॥

॥ भिदिच्छिदोरंत्यस्य न्दः[45] ॥ ३८ ॥

भिदिर् छिदिर्। एधतोरंत्यस्य न्दो भवति ॥ भिंदइ। छिंदइ।

॥ क्रयेर्ढः[46] ॥ ३९ ॥

36 A उत्त ध्मा- ; C उद्ध्मा- ; W उद्ध्मो धुमा ; B corrupt ; for ध्मः cf. Pán., vi., 4. 140. 37 B उद्- ; W उद्धुमाइ. 38 B गाहे. 39 A गाधि ; B -हृ. 40 A कासे- in sûc., but not in Comm, 41 A म्माणः. 42 B णोमाणइ. 43 A क्षियो. 44 D झिज्ज throughout, to which A is altered from झि-. 45 B द: but न्द in ex.; AB चंतस्य for अंत-. 46 AW ढ, D originally so;

कथ निष्पाके। अस्य धातोरंत्यस्य ढो भवति ॥ कढइ ॥

॥ वेष्टेश्च[47] ॥४० ॥

वेष्ट वेष्टने। अस्य धातोरंत्यस्य ढो[48] भवति ॥ वेड्ढइ[49] ॥ योगविभाग[50] उत्तरार्थः ॥

॥ उत्समोर्लः[51] ॥ ४१ ॥

उत्संभ्यामुत्तरस्य वेष्टेरंत्यस्य लो भवति ॥ उव्वेल्लइ[52]। संवेल्लइ ॥

॥ रुदेर्वः ॥ ४२ ॥

रुदिर्। अस्य धातोरंत्यस्य वो भवति[53] ॥ रुवइ ॥

॥ उदो विजः ॥ ४३ ॥

उत्पूर्वस्य विजेरंत्यस्य[54] वकारो भवति ॥ उव्विवइ[55] ॥

॥ वृधेर्ढः[56] ॥ ४४ ॥

वृधु वर्धने। अस्य धातोरंत्यस्य ढो भवति ॥ वड्ढइ[57] ॥

॥ हंतेर्म्मः[58] ॥ ४५ ॥

हंतेरंत्यस्य[59] म्मो भवति ॥ हम्मइ ॥

॥ स्यादीनां दीर्घता[60] ॥ ४६ ॥

B ठ ; E द, but all have *kwather*. 47 AD वेष्टश्च. 48 Only B ठो ; E om. Comm. as usual. 49 The MSS. वेढइ (B वेढइ, E वेदइ) ; the doubling seems required by III., 51, and the clause योग-. 50 *cf.* III. 49. 51 ABW ह्रः here and in Comm. ; *cf.* III., 50. 52 BD उवे-. 53 W -कारो here and in SS. 43, 44, and elsewhere. 54 Only W ओविजी etc. 55 B उवीवइ. 56 AD वृधेर्ढ्ढः (A is not clear, but the *r* proves that it is not ड्ढ) ; W has ढः ; B वृधे ड्ढः. 57 The MSS. as before W वढ्ढइ) *cf.* III., 51. 58 So MSS. ; *Qy.* मः (?) *cf.* Lass., p. 245, note. 59 W हन हिंसागत्योः—मकारो भवति। हिम्मइ। हंति. 60 In W this sút.

रुषादीनां दीर्घता भवति ॥ रूसइ । तूसइ । सूसइ[61] ॥ रुष्यति । तुष्यति । शुष्यति ॥

॥ च्चो[62] व्रजनृत्योः ॥ ४७ ॥

व्रज नृतो । अनयोरंत्यस्य च्चो भवति ॥ वच्चइ । णच्चइ ॥

॥ युधिबुध्योर्झः ॥ ४८ ॥

युध संप्रहारे । बुध अवगमने । अनयोरंत्यस्य झो[63] भवति ॥ जुज्झइ । बुज्झइ ॥

॥ रुधेर्न्धम्भौ[64] ॥ ४९ ॥

रुधिर् । अंत्यस्य न्धम्भौ भवतः ॥ रुन्धइ । रुम्भइ ॥

॥ मृदो लः ॥ ५० ॥

मृद क्षालने[65] । अस्य धातोरंत्यस्य लो भवति ॥ मलइ ॥

॥ शद्लृपत्लोर्डः[66] ॥ ५१ ॥

शद्लृ शातने पत्लृ पतने । अनयोरंत्यस्य डो भवति ॥ सडइ । पडइ ॥

॥ शकादीनां द्वित्वं ॥ ५२ ॥

शक्ल शक्तौ । इत्येवमादीनां द्वित्वं भवति ॥ सक्कइ । लग्गइ ॥ शक्नोति । लगति[67] ॥

॥ स्फुटिचल्योर्वा ॥ ५३ ॥

स्फुट विकसने । चल कंपने । अनयोरंत्यस्य वा द्वित्वं भवति ॥ फुट्टइ फुडइ[68] । चल्लइ चलइ ॥

follows S. 51 ; in Comm. BW add रुप रोपे etc. 61 W adds पूसइ=पुष्यति. 62 B throughout च्व (?) 63 W झ्भादेशो. 64 So ACW ; BDE read न्धस्सौ, with ex. रुस्सइ. 65 W क्षोदे. 66 W-पत्लोर्डः ; the *lr* is a later add. in BD, but the orig. text of AE ; the Pr. Sanj. has शदि-. 67 W adds गम्मइ । दुम्मइ=गच्छति । दूयते *cf.* var. lect. s. 8) and then gives s. 58. 68 A फट्टइ ; BDEW फुटइ ; the Pr. Sanj. फुडइ

॥ प्रादेर्मीलः ॥ ५४ ॥

प्रादेरुत्तरस्य मीलो ऽन्त्यस्य[69] द्वित्वं भवति वा ॥ पमिल्लइ[70] । पमीलइ ॥

॥ भुजादीनां क्त्वातुमुन्तव्येषु लोपः ॥ ५५ ॥

भुज[71] इत्येवमादीनां क्त्वातुमुन्तव्येषु परतो ऽन्त्यस्य लोपो भवति ॥ भोत्तूण[72] । भोत्तुं । भोत्तव्वं ॥ विदः । वेत्तूण । वेत्तुं । वेत्तव्वं ॥ रुदः । रोत्तूण । रोत्तुं । रोत्तव्वं ॥

॥ श्रुहुजिलूधुवां[73] णो ऽन्त्ये ह्रस्वः ॥ ५६ ॥

श्रु श्रवणे । हु दानादाने[74] । जि जये । लूञ्[75] छेदने । धूञ् कंपने । इत्येतेषामंत्ये णः प्रयोक्तव्यः । दीर्घस्य ह्रस्वो भवति ॥ सुणइ । हुणइ । जिणइ । लुणइ[76] । धुणइ ॥

॥ [77]भावकर्मणोर्व्वश्च[78] ॥ ५७ ॥

एषां भावकर्मणोरंत्ते व्वशब्दः[79] प्रयोक्तव्यः ॥ चकाराद् णश्च ॥ सुव्वइ सुणिज्जइ । हुव्वइ हुणिज्जइ । जिव्वइ जिणिज्जइ । लुव्वइ लुणिज्जइ । धुव्वइ धुणिज्जइ[80] ।

॥ गमादीनां[81] द्वित्वं वा ॥ ५८ ॥

quoting ii., 20. 69 So DW ; AB प्रादेरंत्यस्य मीलो ; E om. Comm. ; only W gives an ex. besides प्र. 70 D; ABE पमीलइ ; W पम्मिल्लइ पम्मिल्लइ । णिम्मीलइ णिम्मीलइ. 71 W adds चेति निवृत्तं. 72 W भोऊण । भोउं । भोअव्वं, but त्त in the other ex. ; DE have त in all the ex., cf. infra, transl. note. 73 W श्रुहुजिमधुवां णो ह्रस्वश्च (sic placed after s. 14 !). 74 BD -नयोः ; W दाने. 75 W लुङ् शब्दे. 76 W सुणइ=सपने. 77 W भावकर्मणोः as an adhikára with no ex. 78 A -वश्च ; D corrupt. 79 AB व- ; but only B व in the ex. 89 D om. both. 81 W puts this sút. after s. 52 with ex. गम्मइ रम्मइ दम्मइ गमइ रमइ दमइ explained by गच्छति रमते दमयति ; cf. vii., 9.

गमादीनां धातूनां द्वित्वं वा भवति ॥ गम्मइ गमिज्जइ। रम्मइ रमिज्जइ। हस्सइ हसिज्जइ ॥ गम्यते। रम्यते। हस्यते ॥

॥ लिहेर्लिज्झः[82] ॥ ५९ ॥

लिह आस्वादने। अस्य धातोर्लिज्झो भवति भावकर्मणोः ॥ लिज्झइ ॥

॥ हृकोर्हीरकीरौ[83] ॥ ६० ॥

हृञ् हरणे। डुकृञ् करणे। अनयोर्हीरकीरौ भवतो भावकर्मणोरर्थयोः[84] ॥ हीरइ। कीरइ[85] ॥

॥ ग्रहेर्घेर्घो[86] वा ॥ ६१ ॥

ग्रहेर्धातोर्घेर्घो वा भवति। भावकर्मणोरर्थयोः ॥ गाहिज्जइ। गौहिज्जइ ॥

॥ क्तेन दिण्णादयः[87] ॥ ५२ ॥

where all refer it to the passive; the rest om. Sans. expl. here. 82 So A; DE लिहेज्र्जः with ex. लिज्जइ; BW have a diff. sút.; B (and the Pr. Sanj.) दुहिलिहिवहां दुज्झलिज्झवज्झाः (the ज्झ written in B ब्व; *cf.* Del., p. 12, note; the Pr. Sanj. -चुज्झ) with ex. दुज्झइ लिज्झइ वज्झइ; W दुहलिहवहां दुद्धलिद्धवुद्धाः with ex. दुद्धइ लिद्धइ वुद्धइ. 83 W (and pr. Sanj.) हृमृकृञो-. 84. A om. 85 Here follows a sút. in BW, not in ACDE; B ज्ञो णज्जणवौ (B-नौ) वा ॥ ज्ञा अवबोधने। इत्यस्य धातोर्णज्ज णव इत्यादेशौ भवतः भावकर्मणोः। णज्जइ णवइ। पक्षे जाणिज्जइ। मुणिज्जइ। ज्ञायते; W has ज्ञानृत्योर्णज्जणटौ ॥ जा अवबोधने नृती गात्रविनामे। अनयोर्भावे णज्जणटौ भवतः। णज्जइ णट्टइ। ज्ञायते नृत्यते. 86 W for this sút. ग्रहेर्घा घेत्यः ॥ with ex. घेप्पइ गेण्हिज्जइ। गृह्यते. 87 So EW and D orig.; AB दिण- here and in ex

दिण्ण इत्येवमादयः क्तप्रत्ययेन सह निपात्यंते ॥ डुदाञ् दाने । दिण्णं ॥ रुदिर् । रुण्णं[88] ॥ असी[89] । हित्थं[90] ॥ दह । दड्ढं[91] ॥ रंजि । रत्तं[92] ॥

॥ खिदेर्विसूरः ॥ ६३ ॥

खिद दैन्ये । अस्य[93] विसूरो भवति ॥ विसूरइ[94] । विरहेण विसूरइ वाला ॥

॥ क्रुधेर्जूरः[95] ॥ ६४ ॥

क्रुध कोपे । अस्य जूरो भवति ॥ जूरइ ॥

॥ चर्चेश्चंपः[96] ॥ ६५ ॥

चर्च अध्ययने । अस्य धातोश्चंपो भवति ॥ चंपइ ॥

॥ त्रसेर्वज्जः ॥ ६६ ॥

त्रसी उद्वेगे । अस्य धातोर्वज्जो भवति ॥ वज्जइ[97] ॥

॥ मृजेर्लुभसुपौ[98] ॥ ६७ ॥

मृजू शुद्धौ । अस्य धातोर् लुभ सुप इत्यादेशौ भवतः । लुभइ । सुपइ[99] ॥

88 AB रुणं. 89 MSS. त्रसि ; *cf.* S. 66. 90 So BDE ; A त्तित्थं W तत्थं (in Sect. ix. W has a sút. हित्थं मीडितभीतयोः). 91 AE (and prob. B) दड्ढ ; D prob. दड्ढं ; W दड्ढं ; *cf.* Mál. M., p. 115, 2. B adds दुह । दुद्धं (!). 92 So BW ; A रंत्तं (!) ; D रत्तं ; E रत्तं. 93 W continues to add *bhâve* or *karmani* in the Comm to each sút., *cf.* s. 57, var lect. 94 DW om. the rest. 95 So BDEW (suppl. in D in marg.). A and Pr Sanj क्रुडुः ; C *n.l.* 96 BDE चर 97 After this B has a new sút. तपेरंपः with ex. रंपइ । तपत्योति ; W gives after s. 62 तपेर्दम्मः ॥ तप सन्तापे । अस्य धातोः कर्मणि दम्मादेशो भवति ॥ दम्मइ तप्यते ॥ 98 So AD ; B पुस- in sút. and Comm., but पुर- in ex. ; W reads मृजेर्लुंपुसौ. 99 W लुपइ पुसइ = मृज्यते ; B gives San.

॥ वुड्डखुप्पौ[100] मस्जेः ॥ ६८ ॥

टुमस्जो शुद्धौ। अस्य धातोर् वुड्डाखुप्पौ भवतः॥ वुड्डइ[101]। खुप्पइ॥

॥ दृशेः पुलअणिअक्कअवक्खाः[102] ॥ ६९ ॥

दृशिर् प्रेक्षणे। अस्य पुलअणिअक्कअवक्खा भवंति॥ पुलअइ। णिअक्कइ। अवक्खइ॥

॥ शकेस्तरवअतीराः[103] ॥ ७० ॥

शक्क शक्तौ। अस्य धातोः तर वअ तीर इत्येन आदेशा भवंति॥ तरइ। वजइ। तीरइ॥

॥ शेषाणामदंतता ॥ ७१ ॥

शेषाणां लुप्तानुबंधानामदंतता भवति॥ भमइ। चुंवइ[104]॥

॥ इति वररुचिकृते प्राकृतप्रकाशे धात्वादेश परिच्छेदो ऽष्टमः॥

मार्जति. 100 A वुड्डु-; CDE (and Pr. Sanj. ?) वुड्ड-; W वुत्तथ्त्थो; the sût. deest in B; the Sanksh. S. वुत्तखुप्पो (*cf.* Del.) 101 ACDE as in sût.; W वुत्तइ खुत्थइ; B om. 102 W दृशेर्दीसपुलणच्छणिअच्छावखाः॥ with ex. दीसइ। पुलइ। णिछइ। णिअछइ। अवक्इ॥ दृश्यते॥ It also adds कर्मणि in the Comm.; *cf.* 63, note. 103 So ADE (the second ex. in A may be चअइ); B शकेस्तरअरवतीराः॥ with ex. तरइ। अवरइ। तीरइ। शक्नोति शक्यति-ते; W has शकेस्तरावतीराः॥ with कर्मणि in Comm. and ex. तरइ। अवइ। तीरइ॥ शक्यते; BEW then add (supplied in a later hand in the marg. of D) एवमन्ये ऽपि। अनेन धात्वादेशप्रकरणेन अन्ये ऽपि क्रियाशब्दादेशा बोद्धव्याः। यथा मृजेः जामइ (BW add मार्ष्टि)। पिवतेः पाडइ। इत्यादि स्वयमूह्यं॥ The Pr. Sanj. gives this as a sût. but its Comm. is very corrupt. 104 BW, for चुंवइ give हसइ: W refers both ex. to the passive; BW (and Pr. Sanj) then

॥ अथ नवमः परिच्छेदः ॥

॥ निपाताः ॥ १ ॥

अधिकारो ऽयं। वक्ष्यमाणा निपातसंज्ञका वेदितव्याः। संस्कृतानुसारेण णिपातकार्यं वक्तव्यं[1] ॥

॥ हु दानपृच्छानिर्धारणेषु[2] ॥ २ ॥

हु इत्ययं शब्दो दानपृच्छानिर्धारणेष्वर्थेषु निपातसंज्ञो भवति ॥ दाने यथा। हु गेण्ह अप्पणो जीअं ॥ पृच्छायां। हु साहसु[3] सब्भावं ॥ निर्धारणे। हु हुवसु तुण्हिक्को ॥ हु गृहाणात्मनो जीवं। हु कथय[4] साधुषु सद्भावं। हु भव तूष्णीकः ॥

add a new Sút. अजादेशा बहूलं ॥; W's comm. is, अजिति प्रत्याहारः। धातूनामजादेशाः पूर्वोक्ते बहूलं स्युः। अचि तावत्। बुद्दइ बोद्दइ। सुद्दइ सोद्दइ। सुरइ सोवइ। वुद्धइ वोद्धइ। सुद्दइ सोद्दइ। पुसइ पोसइ। रुद्दइ रोद्दइ। सुसइ (W रा-) सोसइ ॥ वर्द्धति। शुजयति। स्वपिति। क्रुध्यते। मुष्णति। पृच्छति। रोहति। श्रिषिति ॥, B's Comm. धातूनामजादेशाश्च (B -देश) बहूलं। अचस्तावत्। उवइ सोवइ बद्दइ। आदेशाः। मरइ सुमरइ। मोवाद अरवादे (*sic*) चोवाइ अववाइ वाहू। अववाति वायुः; the Pr. Sanj.'s Comm. very corrupt. 1 BD कर्तव्यं; in this book AD are chiefly followed, particularly in the ex., where B often differs, and W. almost always; W has several new sútras (see App.) and often a different order. 2 W -निराकरणेषु. 3 So BDW; AE साहसु. 4 Only BW give Sans. expl.; both have कथय, but only W साधुषु also.

॥ विअ वेअ[5] अवधारणे ॥ ३ ॥

विअ वेअ इत्येतावववधारणे निपातसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥ एवं विअ। एवं वेअ ॥ एवमेव[6] ॥

॥ ओ सूचनापश्चात्तापविकल्पेषु ॥ ४ ॥

ओ इत्ययं शब्दः सूचनापश्चात्तापविकल्पेषु निपातसंज्ञो भवति ॥ ओ[7] चिर असि ॥ गाथासु द्रष्टव्यः[8] ॥

॥ इरकिरकिला अनिश्चिताख्याने ॥ ५ ॥

इर किर किल इत्येते शब्दा अनिश्चितारयाने निपातसंज्ञका भवंति ॥ पेक्ख इर तेण हदो। अज्ज किर तेण ववसिओ। अअं किल सिविणओ[9] ॥ प्रेक्षस्व किल तेन हतः। अद्य किल तेन व्यवसितः। अयं किल स्वप्नः ॥

॥ हुं क्खु[10] निश्चयवितर्कसंभावनेषु[11] ॥ ६ ॥

हुं क्खु। इत्येतौ निश्चयवितर्कसंभावनेषु निपातसंज्ञकौ भवतः ॥ हुं रक्खसो[12]। गरुओ क्खु भारो ॥ हुं राक्षसः। गुरुः खलु भारः ॥

॥ णवरः केवले ॥ ७ ॥

णवर इत्ययं शब्दः केवले ऽर्थे निपातनसंज्ञो भवति ॥ णवर[13] अन्नं ॥

॥ आनंतर्ये णवरि ॥ ८ ॥

5 Ex conject. ; A विअ चेअ (वेअ in ex.) ; BDW चिअ चेअ ; E ठिअ वेअ ; In Hema-ch, MS. *a* has णइ चेअ विअ व्व अवध- ; but *b* च for व ; the Pr. Sanj. चिअ चेअ ; *cf*. Lass., p. 189. 6 Only in B ; W has as ex. हं चिअ। तुमं चिअ। अयमेव त्वमेव. 7 So ABDE ; B adds ओ इयं भणिअं। ओ एव्वमिणणद-भत्तं (?) ; W, as usual, diff. 8 BW om. 9 So BW ; AD -ए ; only W has any Sans, expl. 10 W खु. 11 W विनिश्च-. 12 So A ; BD em. ex. 13 A णवरं- ; B om. ; W णवर मुहं तस्स रणो.

णवरीत्ययं शब्द आनंतर्ये निपातसंज्ञो भवति ॥ णवरि ॥

॥किणो प्रश्ने[14] ॥ ९ ॥

किणो इत्ययं शब्दः प्रश्ने सिपातसंज्ञो भवति ॥ किणो धुव्वसि[15]। किणो हससि ॥ किन्नु धूयसे। किन्नु हससि ॥

॥ अव्वो[16] दुःखसूचनासंभावनेषु ॥ १० ॥

अव्वो इत्ययं शब्दो दुःखसूचनासंभावनेषु निपातसंज्ञो भवति ॥ दुःखे। अव्वो कज्जलरसरंजिएहिं अच्छीहिं[17] ॥ सूचनायां। अव्वो अवरं विअ ॥ संभावने। अव्वो णंमिव अत्तुं[18] ॥ अहो कज्जलरसरंजिताभ्यामक्षिभ्यां अहो अपरमिव। अहो एनमिवात्तुं ॥

॥ अलाहि निवारणे[19] ॥ ११ ॥

अलाहि इत्ययं शब्दो निवारणे निपातसंज्ञो भवति ॥ अलाहि कलहलेसेण[20]। अलाहि कलहवंधेण[21] ॥ अलं कलहलशेन। अलं कलहवंधेन ॥

॥ अइ वले[22] संभाषणे ॥ १२ ॥

14 W किणो प्रोस किनु परिप्रश्ने and gives it after s. 15. B om.; D and prob. A धुवसि; the व्व is conject. to suit s. viii. 57; none give Sans. expl. 16 DE अपो; B varies अव्वो and अपो; W has अयो दुःखसूचनाभावनेषु, and also after s. 2, अव्वो दुःख-. 17 A om. 18 Ex conject (*cf.* s. 16); ABD णमिवात्तुं (or-त्तं) E-तु; BD give the Sans. expl. as above. 19 W निवारणे. 20 These ex. corrupt; A कलहसंतरो B कलहलेसेण (the *lese* erased); D कलहपक्खेण; E om.; W as above. 21 A किम्मलसंबंधे; B किन्नेवञ्चुवधेन expl. by अलाहि पूर्णो संगतबंधेन; D कलहबंधेन; E om.; AD om. Sans.; W quite diff. 22 W अइवलं-.

अइ वले इत्येतौ शब्दौ संभाषणे निपातसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥ अइ मूलं पसुसइ । वले किं कलेसि अवले[23] ॥ अपि मूलं प्रशुष्यति । वले किं कलयसि । अवले[24] ॥

॥ णवि वैपरीत्ये ॥ १३ ॥

णवि इत्ययं शब्दो वैपरीत्ते निपातसंज्ञो भवति ॥ णवि तह पहसइ[25] वाला । विपरीतं तथा प्रहसति वाला ॥

॥ सू[26] कुत्सायां ॥ १४ ॥

सू इत्ययं शब्दः कुत्सायां निपातसंज्ञो भवति ॥ सू सिविणो ॥ धिक् स्वप्नः ॥

॥ रे अरे हिरे संभाषणरतिकलहाक्षेपेषु ॥ १५ ॥

रे। अरे। हिरे। इत्येते शब्दाः संभाषणरतिकलहाक्षेपेषु निपातसंज्ञा भवति यथासंख्यं ॥ रे मा करेहि । णाओ सि अरे । दिट्ठो सि हिरे ॥ रे मा कुरुष्व ॥ नागोऽसि अरे । दिष्टो ऽसि हिरे ॥

॥ म्मिवमिवविआ[27] इवार्थे ॥ १६ ॥

म्मिव मिव विअ इत्येते शब्दा इवार्थे निपातसंज्ञका भवंति ॥

23 This ex. corrupt in AD, B as above, W has अच्छ गमसु=अपि गच्छसि (?) 24 Here follows in B a new sút (added by a later hand in the marg. of D) not in ACE, W gives it after s. 6, अव्वो (D अघो throughout) अम्मो (B असो throughout) दु खाक्षेपविस्मापनेषु with ex अव्वो (B अवो) असो दाणि पडिऊल मे देव्व । अव्वो अम्मो कि करेसि । अव्वो अम्मो पत्थरसिला माणुसी जादा, *cf.* Boethtl. Sak p 11, 17, note, for *avvo*, *cf.* s. 10, *supra*. 25 AC पहसिअ, with no Sans expl. (*cf* vii., 23 ?), W diff. 26 W सु. 27 AC म्मिवमिवविवा, B म्मिवमिअविआ, D altered form A to B in sút but not in ex; E corrupt, with no ex,

गअणं स्मिच । गअणं[28] मिव। गअणं विअ कसणं ॥ गगनमिव कृष्णं ॥

[॥ अज्ज आमंत्रणे[29] ॥ १७ ॥

अज्ज इत्ययं शब्द आमंत्रणे निपात्यते ॥ अज्ज महाणुहाव किं करेसि ॥ अहो[30] महानुभाव किं करोषि ॥

॥ शेषः संस्कृतात् ॥ १८ ॥

उक्तादन्यः शेषः । प्रत्ययसमासतद्धितलिंगवर्णकादिविधिः[31] शेषः संस्कृतादवगंतव्य । इह ग्रंथविस्तरभयान्न दर्शितः ॥

॥ इति वररुचिकृते प्राकृतप्रकाशे निपातसंज्ञाविधिर्नाम नवमः परिच्छेदः ॥

W स्मिरमिवविअ ; Hemach. has मिर पिव विव व्व व विअ इवार्थे वा. 28 A -ग for -गं in each ex. 29 This sûr. is only found in BDEW (added in the marg. of D). 30 So W; the others om. 31 W -वर्णकर्षांदि.

॥ अथ दशमः परिच्छेदः ॥

॥ पैशाची ॥ १ ॥

पिशाचानां भाषा पैशाची। सा च लक्ष्यलक्षणाभ्यां स्फुटीक्रियते ॥

॥ प्रकृतिः शौरसेनी[1] ॥ २ ॥

अस्याः पैशाच्याः प्रकृतिः शौरसेनी। स्थितायां[2] शौरसेन्यां पैशाचीलक्षणं प्रवर्तयितव्यं ॥

॥ वर्गाणां तृतीयचतुर्थयोरयुजोरनाद्योराद्यौ ॥ ३ ॥

वर्गाणां तृतीयचतुर्थयोर्वर्णयोरयुक्तयोरनादौ वर्तमानयोः स्थाने आद्यौ प्रथमद्वितीयौ भवतः ॥ गकनं[3]। मेखो। राचा। णिच्छरो[4]। वटिसं[5]। दसवतनो[6]। माथवो[7]। गोपिंतो। केसपो। सरफसं। सलफो[8] ॥

अयुजोरिति किं ॥ संगामो। वग्घो[9]। इत्यादि ॥ अनादाविति किं। गमनं। इत्यादि ॥ गगन[10]। मेघ। राजा। निर्झर[11]। वडिश। दशवदन[12]। माधव[13]। गोविंद। केशव। सरभस। शलभ। संग्राम।

1 BDW always स-. 2 So DW; B स्थितौ ; A इप्सिता (marg. correction). 3 E has only the first two ex. 4 A राचणक्करो (?) ; BW राचा णिकरो ; D -णिच्छरो. 5 BDW वटीसं. 6 A दश- ; BDW add वतनं. 7 AD here add वत्था expl. in D by वध्वा (but both are marked in D as spur.); B has वत्तो with no Sans.; W om. 8 A -फा. 9 So DW and A orig. (altered to द-) ; B corrupt. 10 Only BDW give Sans. 11 Ex conject. (as an ex. of झ seems intended, although properly it should not be a conjunct) ; BD निर्ज्झर W निगड. 12 BDW add वदन. 13 D adds वध्वा ; *cf.* note 7.

व्याघ्र । गमन ॥

॥ इवस्य पिवः[14] ॥ ४ ॥

इवशब्दस्य स्थाने पिव इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ कमलं पिव मुखं[15] ॥

॥ णो नः ॥ ५ ॥

णकारस्य स्थाने नकार इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ तलुनी । तरुणी[16] ॥

॥ ष्टस्य सटः ॥ ६ ॥

ष्ट इत्यस्य स्थाने सट इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ कसटं मम वट्टइ[17] ॥ कष्टं मम वर्तते ॥

॥ स्नस्य सनः ॥ ७ ॥

स्न इत्यस्य स्थाने सन इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ सनानं[18] । सनेहो[19] ॥

॥ र्यस्य रिअः[20] ॥ ८ ॥

र्य इत्यस्य स्थाने रिअ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ भारिआ[21] भार्या[22] ॥

॥ ज्ञस्य ञ्ञः[23] ॥ ९ ॥

ज्ञ इत्यस्य स्थाने ञ्ञ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ विञ्ञानो । सव्वञ्ञो[24] ॥ विज्ञात । सर्वज्ञ ॥

॥ कन्यायां न्यस्य ॥ १० ॥

कन्याशब्दे न्यस्य स्थाने ञ्ञ[25] इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ कञ्ञा ॥

॥ उज्ज[26] ञ्ञ[27] ॥ ११ ॥

14 So MSS. 15 ADW-हं (but A orig. खं like B); *cf.* Lass p. 443. 16 Only W gives Sans. 17 A वट्टदि; W वट्टदि; only W gives Sans. 18 B सनती. 19 *Only* in A. 20 W रिश्रा; B रीयः in sút., but रिश्र in Comm. 21 So W; AD भरिश्रा; B भरीश्रा. 22 Only in W. 23 B ञ्ञ. in sút. and ex. 24 B om.; only W gives Sans. 25 B ञ. 26 D ज्ञ (and perhaps A). 27 B ञ्ञ (!); W ञ्ञ·.

ज्जशब्दस्य शौरसेनीसाधितस्य च्च इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ कच्च°[28] ॥ कार्यं°[29] ॥

॥ राज्ञो राचि टाङसिङस्ङिषु[30] वा ॥ १२ ॥

राजनशब्दस्य टा ङसि ङस् ङि[31] इत्येतेषु परतो राचि इत्ययमादेशो वा[32] भवति ॥ राचिना रञ्ञा। राचिनो रञ्ञो। राचिनि रञ्ञि[33] ॥ एतेष्विति किं॥ राचा। राचानं। रञ्ञो[34] ॥

॥ त्क्वस्तून[35] ॥ १३ ॥

त्काप्रत्ययस्य स्थाने तूनं[36] इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ दातूनं। कातूनं। घेत्तूनं[37] ॥

हृदयस्य हितअकं[38] ॥ १४ ॥

॥ हृदयशब्दस्य हितअकं निपात्यते ॥ हितअकं हरसि मे तलुनि॥

॥ इति वररुचिकृते प्राकृतप्रकाशे पैशाचिको नाम
दशमः परिच्छेदः ॥

28 BW कव्वं (B *n.l.*) 29 BD om. 30 B -ङिसुप्सु वा; W ङिसुपु वा, the षु in A corrected to सु in marg. 31 B om. ङि; W adds सु. 32 AW om. 33 So D except राञ्ञा-ञ्ञो -ञ्ञि; A राचिना रञ्ञा। राचिनि रञ्ञि; B राचिना राज्ञा राचीनो राज्ञी राज्ञसु (*sic*); W टा राचिना रञ्ञा। ङसि ङस्। राचीदो राचीनो। ङिसु राचिम्मि राचिसु. 34 A रञ्ञो (added in marg.); B इञ्ञो (*sic*); W रञ्ञे; D om. 35 B त्क्वा सूनं. 36 B त्तून; W तून. 37 The only ex. in BDEW is घेत्तून; BD (not in AE) then add सुनाहि सुना टाठीति किं (B ठीति किं) सुनचि सिट इति किं चनतु (?); W has a new sút. लोटि सिपोराहि वा ॥ धातोर्लोटि परतः सिप आहि इत्यादेशो भवति। सुनाहि सुना। लोटीति किं। सुनसि। इति किं सुनत्तु। श्रृणुहि श्रृणु श्रृणोषि श्रृणोतु। 38 A-यकं throughout.

॥ अथैकादश परिच्छेदः ॥

मागधी ॥ १ ॥

मागधानां[1] भाषा मागधी । लक्ष्यलक्षणाभ्यां स्फुटी क्रियते ॥

॥ प्रकृति शौरसेनी ॥ २ ॥

अस्या मागध्याः प्रकृतिः शौरसेनीति वेदितव्यं ॥

॥ षसोः शः ॥ ३ ॥

षकारसकारयोः स्थाने शो भवति ॥ माशे । विलाशे[2] ॥ माषः । विलासः ॥

॥ जो यः ॥ ४ ॥

जकारस्य यकारो भवति ॥ यायदे[3] ॥ जायते ॥

॥ चवर्गस्य स्पष्टता[4] तयोच्चारणं[5] ॥ ५ ॥

चवर्गो यथा स्पष्टस्तथोच्चारणो भवति ॥ पलिचए[6] । गहिदच्छले । यियले[7] । णिझले[8] ॥ परिचयः[9] । गृहीतच्छलः । विजलः । निर्झरः ॥

॥ हृदयस्य हडक्कः ॥ ६ ॥

1 B मग- , only BW have a Comm to SS. 1, 2, E gives only the *sútras* throughout. 2 ABD -शो in both ex., *cf.* 1 10 3 A यायदे, and adds याआ=जाया 4 BD चवर्गस्पष्टता, Lassen (p 397) conj *aspastata*, the Sanksh. S has *manáguebebaryah* 5 So MSS, A altered to -ए, E om. *sút.* A शो for ए in all the ex 7 A विजए 8 BW इल 9 Only BW give Sans. Lassen proposes वि(?)जर (p 397)

हृदयस्य स्थाने हडक्को भवति ॥ हडक्के आल्ले[10] मम[11] ॥ हृदये आद्रो मम[12] ॥

॥ र्यर्जयोर्य्यः[13] ॥ ७ ॥

र्यकारर्जकारयोः स्थाने य्यो भवति ॥ कय्ये[14] । दुय्यणे ॥ कार्यं । दुर्जनः ॥

॥ क्षस्य स्कः ॥ ८ ॥

क्षस्य स्थाने स्ककारो भवति ॥ लस्कशे[15] । दस्के[16] ॥ राक्षसः । दक्षः ॥

॥ अस्मदः सौ हके हगे अहके[17] ॥ ९ ॥

अस्मदः स्थाने सौ परतो हके हगे अहके इत्येत आदेशा भवंति[18] ॥ हके हगे अहके भणामि ॥ अहं भणामि ॥

॥ अत इदेतौ लुक्च[19] ॥ १० ॥

साविल्यनुवर्तते । अकारांताच्छब्दात्सौ परत इकारैकारौ भवतः । पक्षे लोपश्च ॥ एशि[20] लाआ । एश पुलिशे । एश पुलिश ॥ एष राजा । एष पुरुषः ॥

॥ टांताडुश्च ॥ ११ ॥

10 A आल्दे. 11 A adds हडक्क' मंतेमि. 12 om. Sans.; BW add हृदममालतं (B मालं) आसमंतालिखिति वा (?). 13 D -र्येः; B -र्ज्जः; but both य्य in Comm. 14 A o for e; W कय्यं; B कय्यं दुय्जणे; ABW give Sans. 15 MSS. -से. 16 From BW. 17 BDEW (and the Sanksh. S. in Lass., p. 393) om. अहके; cf. Sak., Williams' ed. p. 217; Boehtl. 18 BDW इत्येतो स्वः. 19 W वा for च. 20 These ex. are from W; B has अशि लाआ । ए पुलीसो पुश पुलिशा; A) हस्ते सपदि । एशे आसा (D एशि सभा) एसे पुलिसे (D एशि पुलिशे) एश पुलिसा (D एशे पुलिशे) एश रमा (एशे समा); only W gives Sans.

कप्रत्ययांताच्छब्दात्सौ परत उकारश्च[21] भवति ॥ चकाराद् इदेतौ तुकुच ॥ हशिदु । हशिदि । हशिदे । हशिद[22] ॥ हसितः ॥

॥ ङसो ह्रो वा दीर्घत्वंच ॥ १२ ॥

ङसः षष्ठ्येकवचनस्य स्थाने हकारादेशो वा भवति । तत्संयोगेच दीर्घत्वं ॥ पुलिशाह[23] घणे । पुलिशश्श घणे ॥ पुरुषस्य[24] धनं ॥

॥ अदीर्घः संबुद्धौ[25] ॥ १३ ॥

अदतादित्येव । अदंताच्छब्दादकारो दीर्घो भवति संबुद्धौ ॥ पुलिशा आगछ[26] । माणुशा आगछ ॥ सबुद्धाविति किं । बम्हणश्श[27] घणे ॥ ब्राह्मणस्य धन ॥

॥ चिट्ठस्य चिष्ठ.[28] ॥ १४ ॥

चिट्ठस्य स्थाने चिष्ठ[29] इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ पुलिशे चिष्ठदि[30] ॥ पुरुषस्तिष्ठति[31] ॥

॥ कृञ्मृङ्गमां[32] क्तस्य डः ॥ १५ ॥

डुकृञ् करणे । मृङ्प्राणत्यागे । गम्लृ[33] गतौ । एतेषा क्तप्रत्ययस्य स्थाने डकारो भवति ॥ कडे । मडे । गडे ॥ कृतः । मृतः । गत[34] ॥

21 W-र स्यात्. 22 AD हशिदा (AD ष for श throughout); B's ex are हशिदु हशि हशिद, W as in text. 23 All but W confuse ष and श 24 W षाणो (!) 25 E षश्शे (!) 26 Lassen (p 397) prefers छ to च्छ, the MSS have छ. but they cannot be relied on 27 ABD बमरणस्स (altered in A to मणुस). W बह्मणग्ग (cf var lect vi 64) 28 BE-ट, D टः, A चिट, W चिष्ठ 29 D ट, B चिट्ठ (sic). A चिट्ठ 30 A चिट, B nil. D चिट्ठदि; W चिट्ठदि, A adds मनुष्ये (sic) चिट्ठदि । इत्येदि 31 Only in W 32 BW गम् 33 BDW गम्लृ गम्लृ 34 BW add a sūtra [illegible]

॥ क्त्वो दाणिः ॥ १६ ॥

क्त्वाप्रत्ययस्य स्थाने दाणि[35] इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥ शहिदाणि[36] गडे। करिदाणि[37] आअडे ॥ सोढा[38] गतः। कृत्वागतः ॥

॥ शृगालस्य शिआलाशिआलेशिआलकाः[39] ॥ १७ ॥

शृगालशब्दस्य स्थाने शिआलादय आदेशा भवंति। शिआला[40] आअछदि। विआले आअछदि। विआलके[41] आअछदि ॥ शृगाल आगच्छति ॥

॥ इति वररुचिकृते प्राकृतप्रकाशे मागध्याख्य एकादशः परिच्छेदः ॥

कइं (B-हां); Hema-ch. gives this sút. in his Sauraseni chapter. 35 BDW-णिर. 36 MSS. स-. 37 Only in A. 38 So BDW. 39 B अ for आ in sút. throughout, but not in ex.; A शिअला orig. 40 AB शिअ-. 41 A-क.

॥ अथ द्वादशः परिच्छेदः ॥

॥ शौरसेनी[1] ॥ १ ॥

॥ प्रकृतिः संस्कृतं[2] ॥ २ ॥

॥ अनादावयुजोस्[3] तथयोर्दधौ ॥ ३ ॥

॥ व्यापृते[4] डः ॥ ४ ॥

॥ पुत्रे[5] ऽपि क्वचित् ॥ ५ ॥

॥ इ गृध्रसमेषु[6] ॥ ६ ॥

॥ ब्रह्मण्यविज्ञयज्ञकन्यकानां[7] ण्यज्ञन्यानां[8] ञ्जो[9] वा ॥ ७ ॥

॥ सर्वज्ञेङ्गितज्ञयोर्णः[10] ॥ ८ ॥

1 BDW स- ; Book XII. has *no Comm. in* ABCDE ; W gives a Comm. but full of gross errors, and of no authority ; *cf.* Lass. App. pp. 49—58, with the Sanksh. S. quoted there : several sút. are very corrupt. 2 B -तं. 3 MSS. -युजः (D orig. -जो) ; BE add अधिकारो ऽयं (added in marg. of D) and then give तथयो- as a new sút. ; W also divides them, अनादावयुज॰ ॥ अनादौ वर्तमाना वर्णा॰ गर्ने अगं- युक्ताः प्रयोक्तव्याः । कमणो पणरं । इच्छः पच्य , then तथयोर्दधो 4 B -वृते ; W -वृतेर्डः. 5 So EW ; A पुत्रो ; BD पुत्रो ऽपि 6 BE गात्रेषु 7 BW om. यज्ञ. 8 So BW ; D *n.l.* ; A न्यानां 9 A यो , BW ञ्जो ; C ञ्जो , D ञ्ञो ; E त्रो ; *cf.* Lass. App., p. 53. 10 A -इति गितज्ञयोर्णं ; B -इति गज्ञोर्णं ; D -इति गिज्ञोर्णं ; W -इति तज्ञयोर्णं ; only E इङ्गितज्ञयोर्णं ; *cf.* III., 5.

॥ त्क[11] इअः ॥ ९ ॥

॥ क्रगमोर्डुअः[12] ॥ १० ॥

॥ णिज्जेद्दशसोर्वा[13] क्लीवे[14] स्वरदीर्घश्च ॥ ११ ॥

॥ भो भुवस्तिङि[15] ॥ १२ ॥

॥ न लृटि ॥ १३ ॥

॥ ददातेर्दें[16] । दद्दस्स लृटि ॥ १४ ॥

॥ डुकृञः करः ॥ १५ ॥

॥ स्थश्चिट्ठः[17] ॥ १६ ॥

॥ स्मरतेः[18] सुमरः ॥ १७ ॥

॥ दृशेः पेक्खः[19] ॥ १८ ॥

॥ अस्तेरच्छः[20] ॥ १९ ॥

॥ निपात्थि[21] ॥ २० ॥

11 ABEW त्का ; W इश्र. 12 W डुश्र ; AD डुश्रः (?) ; B हु-. 13 W णिज्ज for णिर्, with ex. कमलाणिज्ज=कमलानि etc. ! 14 A क्लावे ; *cf.* Lass. p. 54. 15 W तङि ; E om. s. 12—31. 16 Lassen's conject. ; AC ददाते दों । ददस्स लृटि ; B वदस्ते दे । इस्स लृटि ; D ददातेर्दः । ददम इत्यस्य लृटि ; W has two sûr. वदस्तेदे । तच्छब्दस्य तेदे आदेशो भवति । तेदो गदो । तेदं पुच्छ । वेदेण किदं and then ददातेर्दें दस्य लृटि । दाधातोः दकारस्य लृटि परतो दे आदेशो भवति । देस्सदि etc. 17 A -ष्ठः ; B -ठः ; CW -ठ्ठः ; D -ट्टः-. 18 A स्मृ-. 19 A *n.l.* 20 BW (and A ?) अस्तेरच्छः ; C अस्तेरच्छुः ; D अस्तेरकः (?). 21 Ex cenjict. ; ABC सिपा थैः ; B मिपा थैः ; W मिपि थः ॥ मिपि परतः अस् धातोः थ आदेशो भवति । थम्मि ; Hema-ch. and the Sanksh. S.

॥ भविष्यति मिपा सं वा[22] स्वरदीर्घत्वंच ॥ २१ ॥

॥ स्त्रियामित्थी[23] ॥ २२ ॥

॥ एवस्य जेव्व[24] ॥ २३ ॥

॥ इवस्य विअ ॥ २४ ॥

॥ अस्मदो जसा वअंच ॥ २५ ॥

॥ सर्वनाम्नां ङे स्सिंवा[25] ॥ २६ ॥

॥ धातोर्भावकर्तृकर्मसु[26] परस्मैपदं ॥ २७ ॥

॥ अनंत्य[27] एच ॥ २८ ॥

॥ मिपो लोट्टिच[28] ॥ २९ ॥

give no help 22 Ex conject. (*cf.* Lass App. p. 56); AC भयविष्य (the व in A altered to म in a later hand; C has म) मिपाति (ति only added in marg. A) गंवा-; D भुवः गिष्पति मिपागवा (the वा partially erased); B भुवः गिर् गिर् मागावा; W भुवः गिर् तिर् गिर् मागों वा- with ex. भणाणि -दि-मि -मः. 23 A -ति. 24 AC मेव (A orig. स्पेव ?); B जेम; DW ज्जेव्व. 25 Corrupt; AC हे गिरा; D -स्सा; B हे गिंवा; W reads sút. सर्वनाम्नां हेः ॥ सर्वनाम-शब्दानां चतुर्थ्येकवचनस्य वर्णं इत्यादेशो भवति ॥ सव्वस्स कस्स महस्स इदरस्स ॥ सर्वस्मै etc.; Lassen, p. 57. proposes हेः स्सिंवा or स्सिंस्सिंत्थाः. W absurdly adds स्सिंत्थाः before धातो- (W धात्वं-) *from s. 26, and restricts this sút. to* दिव् *and* भुज् 27 ACD अनंत एच; B अनंत एच (!); W अंते एच ॥ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] एव [illegible]; Qr. अनंत एच (!) cf. Lass. App. p. 57. 28 A [illegible] [illegible] च; BCDW [illegible] [illegible] च (D corr. [illegible]); W's Comm. ॥ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] एव [illegible] । [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] । [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

॥ आश्चर्यस्याच्छरिअं[29] ॥ ३० ॥

॥ प्रकृत्या[30] दोलादंडदशनेषु[31] ॥ ३१ ॥

॥ शेषं माहाराष्ट्रीवत्[32] ॥ ३२ ॥

॥ इति वररुचिकृते प्राकृतप्रकाशे मनोरमायां वृत्तौ

भामहविरचितायां शौरसेनीलक्षणं नाम

द्वादशः परिच्छेदः

समाप्तः ॥

29 A -रोअं. 30 Lassen's conject. p. 58 (*cf.* ii., 35) ; ABCD प्रकृ , W प्राकृतो and in Comm. -प्राकृत शब्द' प्रयोक्तव्यः. 31 So W , ACD दोदण्डदशनेषु (A has a mark of omission over दो) , B दोलादण्ड्दशनेषु. 32 W म .

For Hema chandra's sútras on the Sauraseni dialect, see App. C,

Note: P. 30, Eng. Tr. After the commentary, of S. 49 add: The ˜ has occasionally dropped in ˜ in part of the impression , I have noticed elsewhere *muggo*, *nitthāro*, *nolloh ino*. Similarly the *e* in *sthāne* and *leśena*.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

Sanskrit: —

samṛddhi, 'prosperity'; prakata, 'manifest', abhijāti, 'family', manasvinī, 'a wise woman', pratipad, 'the first day of a lunar fortnight,' sadṛksa, 'like', pratisparddhin, 'a rival',[2] prasupta, 'asleep', prasiddhi, 'fame'; aśva, 'a horse.'

This is a class of words which can only be determined by observing the forms used in classical authors.

IDĪSATPAKVASVAPNAVETASAVYAJANAMṚDANGĀNGĀREṢU (3)

In the words *isat*, etc., *i* is substituted for the first *a*. The 'optionally' of the former rule does not apply to this.

isi, pikkam, sivino, vediso, viano, muingo, ingālo.

īsat, 'little', pakva, 'cooked', svapna, 'sleep', vetasa, 'a ratan', vyajana, 'a fan', mrdanga, 'a drum', angāra, 'charcoal.'

LOPO'RAÑYE (4)

In the word *aranya*, 'a forest,' the first *a* is elided as, *Rannam*.

E SAYYĀDISU (5)

In the words *śayyā*, etc., *e* is substituted for the first *a*.

sejjā, sunderam, ukkero, teraho, achchheram, perantam, vellī

śayya, 'a bed', saundarya, 'beauty', utkara, 'a heap', trayodaśa, 'the thirteenth', āścharya, 'wonderful', paryanta, 'limit', valli, 'a creeper.'

2 Such is Vararuchi's explanation *cf* iii, 37, Lassen (Prāk Instit p 265, note) proposes '*pratiṣiddhi*' I may add here that in the first four Sections I have generally followed the MSS in giving the Sanskṛit word in its crude form while in Prākṛt it appears in its nom sing, as modified by the rules of Sect v This chiefly applies to the termination *o*

O BADARE DENA (6)

In the word *badara*, 'the jujube,' the first *a*, with the letter *d* (including its inherent vowel), becomes *o*, as *voram*

LAVANANAVAMALLIKAYOR VENA (7)

In the two words *lavana*, 'salt,' and *navamallika*, 'double jasmine,' the first *a*, with the following *v* (including its inherent vowel) becomes *o* as *lonam*, *nomallıā*

MAYŪRAMAYŪKHAYORYVĀ VĀ (8)

In the two words *mayura*, 'a peacock', and *mayūkha*, 'a ray,' the first *a*, with the syllable *yū*, becomes optionally *o* as, *moro* or *maūro*, *moho* or *maūho*

CHATURTHĪCHATURDASYOSTUNA (9)

In the two words *chaturthī* and *chaturdası*, 'the fourth' and 'fourteenth lunations,' the first *a*, with the syllable *tu*, optionally becomes *o* as, *chotthı* or *chautthı*, *choddahı* or *chauddahı*.

ADĀTO YATHĀDISU VĀ[3] (10)

a is no longer implied [see sūtra 1], in consequence of the change of *sthanın* or 'primitive element.' In the words *yathā* etc , *a* is optionally substituted for *ā*.

jaha, jahā , taha, tahā , pattharo, patthāro , pauam, pāuam , talaventaam, tālaventaam , ukkhāam, ukkhāam , chamaram, chāmaram , paharo, pahāro , chadū, chādū , davaggı, dāvaggī , khaıam, khāıam , santhavıaın, santhāvıam , halıo, halıo

yathā, 'as' , tathā, 'so' , prastāra, 'a bed' , prākrta, 'low' , tālavrntaka, 'a fan' , utkhata, 'dug up' , chāmara, 'a chowrie' , prahāra, 'a blow' , chātu, 'flattery' , dāvāgnı, 'the burning of a forest' , khādıta, 'eaten' ; sansthāpıta, 'placed' , hālıka, 'belonging to a plough '

3 The Prak Sanj constantly uses this sūtra the explain the change of *ā* to *a* before a conjunct , as in *achchhera* for *āścharya*

VICTORY to Gaṇeśa! who is filled with pleasure as he rubs his cheek with his trunk, while the corners of his eyes are closed as he listens to the sweet sounds of the bees, delighted with the juice which flows from his temples. By searching out the things which were to be defined in these sūtras of Prākṛt definitions, composed by Vararuchi, Bhāmaha, having attained their meaning, has made a clear and yet concise commentary.

SECTION THE FIRST

ĀDER ATAḤ (1)

This sūtra is supposed to exercise an authority [*adhikāra*], by virtue of which it is *implied in the succeeding* sūtras. The various rules, which we shall go though *in order, are to be understood as supplying substitutes* 'for the first *a*.' 'For the first' is implied in all the sūtras to the end of the section; '*a*' is implied until it is itself enjoined as a substitute for another vowel [in sūtra 10]. The *t* in *at* is used to exclude the homogeneous vowel[1] [Pāṇini, i., 1. 70].

Ā SAMṚDDHYĀDIṢU VĀ (2)

In the words *samṛddhi*, etc., *ā* is optionally used for the first *a*. Thus Prākṛt:—

samiddhī, sāmiddhī, paaḍam, pāaḍam; ahijāī, āhijāī; maṇansiṇī, māṇansiṇī; paḍivaā, pāḍivaā; sarichchham, sārichchham, paḍisiddhī, pāḍisiddhī, pasuttam, pāsuttam; pasiddhī, pāsiddhī; *asso*, āso.

1 *Āder* does not merely refer to the vowel in the *first* syllable, as it strictly ought to do, but frequently means the first vowel of a certain kind in a word, e.g., the *a* in *īṣat* in sūtra 3.

ITSADĀDIṢU (11)

In *sadā*, etc., *i* is optionally substituted for *ā*: as, *sai*, *saā*; *tai*, *taā*; *jai*, *jaā*.

sadā, 'always'; tadā, 'then'; yada, 'when.'

ITA ETPIṆḌASAMEṢU (12)

In words like *piṇḍa*, *e* is optionally substituted for *i*: as, peṇḍam, piṇḍam; ṇeddā, ṇiddā; sendūram, sindūram; dhammellam, dhammillam; chendham, chindham; veṇhū, viṇhū; peṭṭham, piṭṭham.

piṇḍa, 'a lump'; nidrā, 'sleep'; sindūra, 'red lead'; dhammilla, 'braided hair'; chihna, 'a mark'; viṣṇu, 'Viṣṇu'; piṣṭa, 'pounded.'

The word *sama* or 'like,' is used to indicate that the rule only applies when the *i* followed by a conjunct consonant (as in *piṇḍa*).

ATPATHIHARIDRĀPṚTHIVĪṢU (13)

In *pathin*, etc., *a* is substituted for *i*: as, paho (or in its crude form, paha), haladdā, puhavī.

pathin, 'a path'; haridrā, 'turmeric'; pṛthivī, 'the earth.'

ITESTAḤ PADĀDEḤ (14)

In the word *iti*, 'thus,' when at the beginning of a sentence, *a* is substituted for the *i* which follows the *t*: as,

ia uaha annaha-vaaṇam, ia viasantīu chiram.

iti paśyatānyathāvachanam, 'so behold[4] the hypocr sy(?)'; iti vikasantyaś chiram, 'thus blossoming a long time.'

4 The first of these examples is very obscure *uaha* or *uvaha* is a singular word, which is found in the Bengali recension of Sakuntalā [see Boehtl, p. 150]. There is no rule for it in Vararuchi, but Hemachandra [8th adhy, 2nd pāda] has the following: 'ua paśya; ua iti paśy'etyasyārthe vā prayok-tavyam; pakṣe pulaādayaḥ' [*cf.* Var. viii 69]. Lenz, therefore, rightly called it [Urv. p 224], 'imperativa quædam forma vulgaris linguæ.'

We infer, from its being restricted to the beginning of a sentence, that the rule does not hold in such a case as *pio tti*, 'priya iti.'

UD IKSUVRSCHIKAYOH (15)

In the two words *iksu*, 'the cane,' and *vrśchika*, 'the scorpion,' *u* is substituted for *i* as, *uchchhū*, *vinchhuo*.

O CHA DVIDHĀKRÑAḤ (16)

o is substituted in the word *dvidhā* when used with the root *krñ*, and *u* also, since we find *cha* in the sūtra. Thus, *dvidhākrtam*, 'bisected,' becomes *dobāiam* or *duhāiam*, and *dvidhākryate*, 'it is bisected,' *dobāijjai* or *duhāijjai*.

ITSINHAJIHVAYOSCHA (17)

In *sinha*, 'a lion,' and *jihvā*, 'the tongue,' *ī* is substituted for *i* as, *sīho*, *jībā* The *cha* is used in the sūtra to include other words which are not mentioned, hence there is an *ī* in such words as *vīsattha*, *vīsambba*, etc., for *viśvasta*, 'trusted,' *viśrambba*, 'trust,' etc. [The commentator, therefore, would seem to bring under this rule the various instances where an *i* which would properly in Prākrt be followed by a double consonant, is exchanged for an *ī*, and one of the consonants is dropped].

ID ITAH PĀNIYĀDISU (18)

In *pānīya*, etc., *i* is substituted for the first *ī*. as,

pāniam, aliam, valiam, taānim, kariso, duiam, taiam, gahiram

pānīya, 'water', alīka, 'false', vyalika, 'painful', tadānīm, 'then', karīsa, 'dried cow-dung', dvitīya 'second'; trtīya, 'third', gabhīra, 'deep'.

ENNIDAPIDAKIDRGIDRSESU (19)

In *nīḍa*, etc., *e* is substituted for *ī* as,

ṇeḍḍam, āpelo, keriso, eriso.

nīḍa, 'a nest'; āpīḍa, 'pressing'; kidṛś, 'what like'; īdṛśa, 'such'.

UTA OT TUṆḌARŪPEṢU (20)

In words like *tuṇḍa, o* is substituted for *u*: as,

toṇḍam, mottā, pokkharo, potthao, loddhao, koṭṭimam.

tuṇḍa, 'the face'; muktā, 'a pearl'; puṣkara, 'a lake'; pustaka, 'a book'; lubdhaka, 'a hunter'; kuṭṭima, 'a jewel-mine.'

The word *rūpa* or 'like,' is used in the sūtra to indicate that the *u* must be followed by a conjunct consonant (as in *tuṇḍa*).

ULŪKHALE LVĀ VĀ (21)

In *ulūkhala*, 'a mortar', *u* with the syllable *lū* optionally becomes *o*: as, *okkhalam* or *ūlūhalam*.

ANMUKUṬĀDIṢU (22)

In *mukuta*, etc., *a* is substituted for the first *u*: as,

maudam, maulam, garuam, garuī, jahiṭṭhilo, soamallam, avari.

mukuṭa, 'a crest'; mukula, 'a bud'; guru, gurvī, 'heavy'; Yudhisthira, 'the name of a king'; saukumārya, 'youthfulness'; upari, 'above'.

ITPURUṢE ROḤ (23)

In the word *purusa*, 'a man,' *i* is substituted for the *u* which follows *r*: as, *puriso*.

UDŪTO MADHŪKE[5] (24)

In the word *madhūka*, 'Bassia latifolia,' *u* is substituted for *ū*: as, *mahuam*.

5 The Prāk. Sanj reads this sūtra *Ud ūto madhūkādiṣu*, and employs it to explain the shortening of *ū* before a conjunct, as *dhutta* =*dhūrta*. Similarly, it uses i. 18 to explain the shortening of I. *cf.* also note, p. 3-4, and Appendix D.

ADDUKULE VĀ LASYA DVITVAM (25)

In the word *dukūla*, 'woven silk,' *a* is optionally substituted for *ū*, and when it is so substituted, the *l* is doubled: as, *duallaṃ* or *duūlam*.

ENNUPURE (26)

In the word *nūpura*, 'an anklet,' *e* is substituted for *ū*. as, *neuram*.

RTO 'T (27)

A is substituted for *r* in the first syllable of a word: as, tanam, ghanā, maam, kaam, vaddho, vasaho.

Trna, 'grass', *ghrnā*, 'pity' (? *antipathy*—*Ed.*); mrta 'dead', krta, 'made'; vrddha, 'old', vrsabha, 'a bull.'

ID ṚSYADIṢU (28)

In *rsbi*, etc., *i* is substituted for the initial *r*: as,

isī, visī, gitthī, ditthī, sitthī, singāro, mianko, bhingo, bhingāro, hiaam, viinho, vinhiam, kisaro, kichchā, vinchhuo, siālo, kii, kisī, kivā.

rsi, 'a sage'; vrsī, 'an ascetic's cushion', grsti, 'a cow that has had one calf', drsti, 'sight', srsti, 'creation', śrngāra, 'love', mrgānka, 'the moon', bhrnga, 'a bee'; bhrngāra, 'a vase', hrdaya, 'the heart'; vitrsna, 'contented'(?), vrnhita, 'grown', krśara, 'a kind of pottage', krtyā, 'action', vrśchika, 'a scorpion', śrgāla, 'a jackal', krti, 'act', krsi, 'husbandry', krpā, 'pity.'

UDṚITVĀDISU (29)

In *rtu* etc., *u* is substituted for the initial *r*. as,

udū, munālo, puhavī, vundāvanam, pāuso, pauttī, viudam, samvudam, nivvudam vuttanto, parahuo, māuo, jāmāuo

ṛtu, 'a season', *mṛnāla*, 'a lotus-fibre', pṛthivī, 'the earth', vṛndāvana, 'a country so called',[6] prāvṛt, 'the

6 It is not a country but a town in Western India

rainy season', prāvṛtti, 'news'; vivṛta, 'opened'; samvṛta, 'covered', nirvṛta, 'ended'; vṛttānta, 'news'; parabhṛta, 'the koil';[7] mātṛka, 'a maternal uncle'; jāmātṛka, 'a son-in-law.'

AYUKTASYA RIḤ (30)

The syllable *ri* is substituted for the vowel *ṛ* when initial and not connected with another letter: as,

riṇam, riddho, richchho.

ṛṇam, 'a debt' ; ṛddha, 'prosperous' ; ṛkṣa, 'a bear.'

KVACHIDYUKTASYĀPI (31)

The syllable *ri* is sometimes substituted for an initial *ṛ*, even when it is connected with another letter: as,

eriso, sariso, tāriso.

īdṛśa, 'such' ; sadṛśa, 'like' ; tādṛśa, 'such.'

VṚKSE VENA RURVĀ (32)

In the word *vṛkṣa*, 'a tree,' the syllable *ru* is optionally substituted for the initial *ṛ* with its accompanying *v* as *rukkho, vachchho*. The option being here definitely restricted, the change does not take place at all in the case of the substitution of *chh*, but it holds universally in that of *kh* [see iii., 31.]

LṚTAḤ KLṚPTA ILIḤ (33)

In the word *klṛpta*, 'made,' *ili* is substituted for *lṛ* as, *Kilittam*. From the above substitutions being enjoined, we infer that the vowels *ṛ* and *lṛ* do not exist in Prākṛt.

ETA ID VEDANĀDEVARAYOḤ (34)

In *vedanā*, 'pain,' and *devara*, 'a brother-in-law,' *i* is substituted for *e* as, *vianā, diaro*. Since 'optionally' is still implied (from sūtra 32), the forms *veanā* and *dearo* are also sometimes used

7 A Cuckoo—Ed

AITA ET (35)

e is substituted for the first *ai*: as,

selo, sechcham, erāvaṇo, kelāso, tellokkam.

śaila, 'a mountain'; śaitya, 'cold'; airāvata, 'Indra's elephant'; Kailāsa, 'the mountain so called'; trailokya, 'the three worlds.'

DAITYĀDIṢVAI (36)

In the words *daitya*, etc., *aï* is substituted for the diphthong *ai*: as, daïchcho, chaïtto. bhaïravo, saïram, vaïram, vaideso, vaideho, kaiavo, vaïsāho, vaisio, vaïsampāaṇo.

daitya, 'a demon'; Chaitra, 'the name of a month'; bhairava, 'dreadful'; svaira, 'wilfulness'; vaira, 'enmity'; vaideśa, 'foreign'; vaideha, 'a trader'; kaitava, 'a cheat'; Vaiśākha, 'the name of a month'; vaiśika, 'meretricious'; Vaiśampāyana, 'the name of a poet'; etc.

DAIVE VĀ (37)

In *daiva*, 'fate', *aï* is optionally substituted for the diphthong *ai*: as, *daïvam* or *devvam*. In the case of its non-substitution, the *v* is doubled by the *Sūtra* 'Nīḍādishu' [III., 52].

ITSAINDHAVE (38)

In the word *saindhava*, 'produced in Sindh,' *i* is substituted for *ai*: as, *Sindhavam*.

IDDHAIRYE (39)

In the word *dhairya*, 'firmness,' the substitute is *ī*: as, *dhīram*.

OTO 'DVĀ PRAKOṢṬHE KASYA VAḤ (40)

In the word *prakoshṭha*, 'the fore-arm,' *a* is optionally substituted for *o*; and, when it is so substituted, the *k* becomes *v*: as, *Pavaṭṭho* or *paoṭṭho*.

AUTA OT (41)

o is substituted for the first *au*: as,

komuī, jovvanam, kotthuho, kosambī.

kaumudī, 'moonlight', yauvanam, 'youth', kaustubha, 'Visnu's gem', Kauśāmbī, 'the name of a city.'

PAURĀDISVAU (42)

In *paura*, etc., *au* is substituted for the diphthong *au*

pauro, kaurao, prauso.

paura, 'a citizen', kaurava, 'a descendant of Kuru,' paurusa, 'manly.'

These form a class of words which can only be determined by observing the form used in good authors. In the word *kauśala*, 'welfare,' the change is optional: as, *kosalo* or *kausalo*.

ĀCHCHA GAURAVE (43)

In the word *gaurava*, 'respectability,' *a* is substituted for *au*, and so also is *au* as before (since we find *cha*, 'and,' in the sūtra) as, *gāravam* or *gauravam*.

UTSAUNDARYĀDIṢU (44)

In *saundarya*, etc., *u* is substituted for *au* as,

sunderam, munjāano, sundo, kukkheao, duvvārio.[7]

saundarya, 'beauty', maunjāyana, 'a place producing the *munja* plant' (?), saunda, 'intoxicated', kaukseyaka, 'a sword', dauvārika, 'a porter,' etc

7 I may here remind the reader of what is further discussed elsewhere—viz., that in Prakṛt there appears to have been no distinction between *v* and *b* although it is uncertain which was the prevailing sound

SECTION THE SECOND

AYUKTASYĀNĀDAU (1)

This being an *adhikāra*, will be implied in the succeeding *sūtras*. The rules which we shall from this point enjoin, are to be understood as applying in the case of a single non-initial consonant. The elision of *k*, etc., by sūtra 2, will serve for an instance: as, Maüḍaṃ for the Sanskṛit Mukuṭa. Why do we say 'a single consonant'? Compare Aggho and Akko for the Sanskṛit argha and arka (where we find a conjunct consonant, and consequently no elision). Why 'non-initial'? compare kamalam. 'Single' is implied to the end of the section; 'non-initial,' until *j* is enjoined in sūtra 31.

KAGACHAJATADAPAYAVĀM PRĀYO LOPAḤ (2)

These nine consonants, *k*, *g*, *ch*, *j*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *y*, *v*,[1] when single and non-initial, are generally elided: as, *k*, Maülo, naulam; *g*, *sāaro*, *naaram*, *ch*, vaanam, sūī; *j*, gao, raadam; *t*, kaam, viānam; *d*, gaā, mao, *p*, kaī, viulam, suuriso. (In the word 'supurusa,' although the *p* is the initial of the word 'purusa,' the last member of the compound, it is still elided. The author of the comment therefore declares that 'the initial letter of the last member of a compound is considered as non-initial.') *Y*, vāunā, naanam; *v*, jīam, diaho [*cf.* ii. 46].

mukula, 'a bud'; nakula, 'disgraced',[2] sāgara, 'the sea'; nagara, 'a city'; vachana, 'speech'; sūchī, 'a needle'; gaja, 'an elephant'; rajata, 'silver'. kṛta, 'made'; vitāna, 'ex-

1 Or *b*, *cf* Lass., p. 201.
2 *Or*, 'A Pāṇḍava prince' (*naülo*).

pansion'; gadā, 'a club'; mada, 'joy'; kapi, 'an ape'; vipula, 'large'; supuruṣa, 'a good man'; vāyunā, (instr. of vāyu) 'the wind'; nayana, 'the eye'; jīva, 'life'; divasa, 'a day.'

From the use of *prāyas*, ('generally,') in the Sūtra, we conclude that there is no elision where euphony is satisfied, as in Sukusumaṃ, piagamaṇaṃ, sachāvaṃ, avajalaṃ, atulaṃ, ādaro, apāro, ajaso, savahumāṇaṃ.

sukusuma, 'fair-flowered'; priyagamana, 'sweetly-going'; sachāpa, 'armed with a bow'; apajala, 'without water'; atula, 'unequalled'; ādara, 'respect'; apāra, 'unbounded'; ayaśas, 'infamy'; sabahumāna, 'respectful.'

As illustrations of what we mean by 'single consonants,' compare sakko, maggo, for śakra, 'Indra,' and mārga, 'a path:' and by 'non-initial,' compare kālo and gandho, for kāla, 'time,' and gandha, 'a smell.'

YAMUNĀYĀM MASYA (3)

In the word *Yamunā*, 'the river so called,' the *m* is elided: as, *Jauṇā*.

SPHATIKANIKAṢACHIKUREṢU KASYA HAḤ (4)

'Non-initial' continues to be implied. In the three words *sphatika*, 'crystal,' *nikasha*, 'the touchstone,' and *chikura*, 'hair,' *h* is substituted for *k* [we now pass from elision to substitution] : as, *Phaliho*, *nihaso*, *chihuro*.

ŚIKARE BHAḤ (5)

In the word *śikara*, 'thin rain,' *bh* is substituted for *k*: as, *Sibbharo*.

CHANDRIKĀYĀṂ MAḤ (6)

In the word *chandrikā*, 'moonlight,' *m* is substituted for *k*: as, *chandimā*.

ṚTWĀDISHU TO DAḤ (7)

In *ṛtu*, etc., *d* is substituted for *t*: as,

udū, raadam, āado, nivvudī, āudī, samvudī, suidī, āidī, hado, *sanjado*, *viudam*, *sanjādo*, *sampadi* [*padivaddī*[3]],

ṛtu, 'a season', rajata, 'silver'; āgata, 'come'; nirvṛti, 'rest', āvṛti, 'a surrounding'; samvṛti, 'covering'; sukṛti, 'virtue', ākṛti, 'form', hata, 'killed', samyata, 'restrained'; vivṛta, 'opened'; samyāta, 'gone'; samprati, 'now' (? recently —Ed.) ; pratipatti, 'fame.'

PRATISARAVETASAPATĀKĀSU DAḤ (8)

In these words, *d* is substituted for *t*: as,

padisaro, *vediso*, padāā.

pratisara, 'a servant',[4] vetasa, 'the ratan', patākā, 'a flag.'

VASATIBHARATAYOR HAḤ (9)

In *vasati*, 'a dwelling,' and *bharata*, 'a proper name,' *h* is substituted for *t*. as, *vasahī*, *bharaho*.

GARBHITE NAḤ (10)

In *garbhita*, 'pregnant,' *n* is substituted for *t*: as, *Gabbhinam*.

AIRĀVATECHA (11)

In *airāvata*, 'Indra's elephant,' *n* is substituted for *t*: as, *Erāvano*.

PRADIPTAKADAMBADOHADESU DO LAḤ (12)

In these words *l* is substituted for *d*: as,

palittam, kalamvo, dohalo [5]

pradīpta 'kindled', kadamba, 'the tree so called', dohada, *the longing of a pregnant woman.'*

3 This word ought not to belong to this sūtra as it is intended only for words with a single *t*, but the Sanksh Sāra, in its corresponding rule, adds *nishpatti* and *samprati* besides [see Lassen, App., p 42.]

4 As this change of *prati* to *padi* is universal [see Lassen, p 204], it is singular that this is the only instance given by Vararuchi in a sūtra. The Prāk Sanj reads in the sūt *prati* for *pratisara* Hema-chandra has a sūtra *pratyādau dah*

5 Hema chandra has also *dohalo*

GADGADE RAḤ (13)

In *gadgada*, 'inarticulate utterance,' *r* is substituted for *d*: as, *Gaggaro*.

SANKHYĀYĀMCHA (14)

In words expressive of number, *r* is substituted for *d*: as, cāraha, vāraha, teraha.

ekādaśa, 'eleven'; dvādaśa, 'twelve'; trayodaśa, 'thirteen.' But the *d* must be a 'single' letter [by sūtra 1], or the rule will not apply; thus we find Chauddaha for Chaturdaśa, 'fourteen,' (by iii. 3, and iii. 50).

PO VAḤ (15)

V is substituted for a single non-initial *p*: as, sāvo, savaho, ulavo, uvasaggo.

śāpa, 'a curse'; śapatha, 'a curse': ulapa, 'a kind of grass'; upasarga, 'a portent.'

From the use of *prāyas*, ('generally,') [implied from sūtra 2] we infer that this rule applies wherever there is no elision.

ĀPĪDE MAḤ (16)

In the words *āpīda*, 'pressing,' *m* is substituted for *p*: as, *āmelo* [*cf*. i., 19].

UTTARĪYĀNĪYAYORJJO VĀ (17)

In the word *uttarīya*, and in words ending with the affix *anīya*, *jj* is substituted for *y*: as,

uttarīam *or* uttarijjam, ramanīam *or* ramanijjam, bharanīam *or* bharanijjam.

uttarīya, 'an outer garment', ramaṇīya, 'pleasing', bharaṇīya, 'to be cherished.'

CHHĀYĀYAM HAḤ (18)

In the word *chhāyā*, 'a shadow,' *h* is substituted for *y*: as, *chhāhā*.

KABANDHE BO MAḤ (19)

In the word *kabandha*, 'a headless trunk,' *m* is substituted for *b*: as, *Kamandho*.[6]

TO DAḤ (20)

d is substituted for a non-initial *t*: as,

nado, vidavo.

nata, 'an actor', vitapa, 'a branch.'

SAṬĀSAKATAKAIṬABHEṢU DHAḤ (21)

In the words *satā*, 'an ascetic's clotted hair,' *śakata*, 'a cart,' *kaitabha*, 'a demon,' *dh* is substituted for *t*: as, *sadhā*, *saadho*, *kedhavo* [*cf.* sūtra 29].

SPHATIKE LAḤ (22)

In *sphatika*, 'crystal,' *l* is substituted for *t*: as, *Phaliho* [*cf.* sūt. 4].

DASYA CHA (23)

l is substituted for a single non initial *d*: as,

dālimam, talāam, valahī.

dādima, 'a pomegranate', tadāga, 'a pond'; vadabhi, 'an awning, etc., on a palace.' Since *prāyas*, ('generally,') is implied from sūtra 2, we infer that such forms as the following are also admissible: as, *dādimam*, *vadisam*, *nivido*.

THO DHAḤ (24)

dh is substituted for a single non-initial *th*: as,

madham, jadharam, kadhoram.

matha,[7] 'a college' (? monastery—Ed.), jathara, 'the belly,' kathora, 'hard'.

ANKOTHE LLAḤ (25)

In *ankotha*, 'a plant,' *ll* is substituted for *th*: as, *ankollo*.

6 *Kabandha* also means 'water, and in this sense *kamandha* is said to be a Sanskrit word [see Wilson's Lexicon]

7 Masc in Sans

PHO BHAḤ (26)

bh is substituted for a single non-initial *ph*; as,

sibhā, sebhāliā, sabharī, sabhalam.

śiphā, 'a fibrous root'; śephālikā, 'a flower', śapharī, 'a small fish', saphala, 'fruitful.'

KHAGHATHADHABHĀM HAḤ (27)

h is substituted for the five consonants *kh*, *gh*, *th*, *dh*, *bh*, when single and non-initial, *kh*, muham, mehalā, *gh*, meho, jahanam, *th*, gāhā, savaho, *dh*, rāhā, vahiro, *bh*, sahā, rāsaho.

mukha, 'the face', mekhalā, 'a girdle', megha, 'a cloud', jaghana, 'the loins', gāthā, 'a song', śapatha, 'a curse': Rādhā, 'Krishna's favourite,' (? consort—Ed.) badhira, 'deaf', sabhā, 'a house' (? council—Ed.), rāsabha, 'an ass.'

prāyaḥ being still implied [see sūt. 23], we also find such forms, as

pakhalo, palanghano, adhīro, adhano, uvaladdhabhāvo.

prakhala, 'very base', pralanghana, 'transgressing', adhīra, 'unsteady', adhana, 'poor', upalabdhabhāva, 'having the meaning understood'

PRATHAMAŚITHILANIṢADHEṢU DHAḤ (28)

In the words *prathama*, 'first', *śithila*, 'loose', *niṣadha*, 'the name of a country,' *dh* is substituted for *th* and *dh*, as *padhamo*, *sidhilo*, *nisadho*.

KAITABHE VAḤ (29)

In the word *kaitabha*, 'the name of a demon,' *v* is substituted for *bh*, as *Kedhavo*.

HARIDRĀDINĀM RO LAḤ (30)

In *haridra*, etc., *l* is substituted for *r*: as

haladdā, chalano, muhalo, jahitthilo, somālo,[8] kalunam, angulī, ingālo, chilādo, phaliha, phaliho.

8 This form is thus explained by the Prākṛita Sanj —*sukumāra*, the first *u* becomes *o* by i 20, the *k* is elided by ii 2, and the *o* and *u*

haridrā, 'turmeric'; charana, 'the foot'; mukhara, 'noisy', Yudhisthira, 'name of a king'; sukumāra, 'soft'; karuna, 'mournful', anguri, 'a finger (?-ring—Ed.),' angāra, 'charcoal', kirāta, 'a barbarian', parikhā, 'a moat'; parigha, 'a club,' etc

ĀDERYO JAḤ (31)

The *adhikāra* of 'non-initial' which was implied from sūtra 1 ends here. *j* is substituted for an initial *y*: as, jatthī, jaso, jakkho.

yasti, 'liquorice',[9] yaśas, 'glory' [*cf* iv. 18]; yaksa, 'a demigod.'

YASTYĀM LAḤ (32)

In the word *yasti*, 'a stick,' *l* is substituted for *y*: as *latthī*.

KIRĀTE CHAḤ (33)

In *kirāta*, 'a barbarian,' *ch* is substituted for the initial *k*. as, *Chilādo*.

KUBJE KHAḤ (34)

In *kubja*, 'hump-backed,' *kh* is substituted for the initial letter. *khujjo*

DOLĀDAṆDAŚANEṢU DAḤ (35)

In the words *dolā*, 'a litter', *danda*, 'a staff', *daśana*, 'a tooth,' *d* is substituted for the initial letter: as, *dolā*, *dando*, *dasono*.

PARUSAPARIGHAPARIKHĀSU PHAḤ (36)

In the words *parusa*, 'harsh', *parigha*' 'a club',

now meeting in sandhi, the last is dropped by iv 1. we have thus *somāra* and by the present rule *somāla* W's Var Lect. *suumālo* was accidentally omitted in notes elsewhere all the other MSS have *somālo*

9 As *yasti* is also the subject of the next sūtra either there are two forms in use or there ought to be some difference of meaning in the two words The meaning in the text seems justified by a Var Lect. *madhu-yasti* in two MSS. but *Cf* Lass. Inst p 100 Lassen (p 195) illustrates *latthi* by the modern *lath*, 'a column' as, Firoze Lath

parikhā, 'a moat,' *ph* is substituted for the initial letter: as, *pharuso*, *phaliho*, *phalihā*.

PANASE 'PI (37)

Also in the word *panasa*, 'the bread-fruit tree,' *ph* is substituted for *p*: as, *phaṇaso*.

VISINYĀṂ BHAḤ (38)

In the word *visinī*, 'an assemblage of lotus-flowers,' *bh* is substituted for the initial letter, as *bhisiṇī*. From the express mention of the feminine [*visinī*] we infer that the rule does not hold in the neuter *visam*, 'the lotus-fibre.'

MANMATHE VAḤ (39)

In the word *manmatha*, 'love', *v* is substituted for the initial letter: as, *vammaho*.

LĀHALE ṆAḤ (40)

In the word *lāhala*,[10] *ṇ* is substituted for the initial letter: as *ṇāhalo*.

ṢAṬSĀVAKASAPTAPARṆĀNĀṂ CHHAḤ (41)

In these words *chh* is substituted for the initial letter: as,

chhatthī, chhammuho, chhāvao, chhattavanno.

shaṣthī, 'the sixth day of the lunar fortnight'; sanmukha, 'kārtikeya'; śāvaka, 'a young animal'; saptaparna, 'a kind of tree.'

NO ṆAḤ SARVATRA (42)

'Initial' is no longer implied here. *ṇ* is substituted for a single *n* everywhere: as,

naī, kanaam, vaaṇam, māṇuso.

10 Two MSS read *lohala*, 'made of iron,' for the unknown word *lahala*, but as Hema-chandra [see note 4, sūt 38], recognises the word, as well as three, if not four of the MSS. of Vararuchi, it is probably correct. Hema-chandra's rule is also found in the Prāk Sanj

nadī, 'a river'; kanaka, 'gold'; vachana, 'speech'; mānuṣa, 'human'.

SAṢOḤ SAḤ (43)

s is everywhere substituted for *ś* and *ṣ*: as,

(ś) saddo, ṇisā, ankuso; (ṣ) saṇḍho, vasaho, kasāam.

śabda, 'a sound'; niśā, 'night'; ankuśa, 'an elephant's hook'; ṣaṇḍha, 'a eunuch'; vriṣabha, 'a bull'; kaṣāya, 'brown'.

DASĀDIṢU HAḤ (44)

In the words *dāśa*, etc., *h* is substituted for *ś*: as,

daha, eāraha, vāraha, teraha.[11]

daṣa, 'ten'; ekādaśa, 'eleven'; dvādaśa, 'twelve'; trayodaśa, 'thirteen.' [*cf.* ii. 14, for the change of *d* to *r*.]

SANJÑĀYĀṂ VĀ (45)

When the word is a name, the substitution of *h* for *ś* in *dāśa* is optional: as,

dahamuho, dasamuho; dahavalo, dasavalo; daharaho, dasaraho.

daśamukha, 'a name of Rāvaṇa'; daśabala, 'a Bauddha teacher'; Daśaratha, 'the name of a king.'

DIVASE SASYA (46)

In the word *divasa*, 'a day,' *h* is substituted[12] for *s*: as, *diaho*.

SNUṢĀYĀM ṆHAḤ (47)

In the word *snuṣā*, 'a daughter-in-law,' *ṇh* is substituted for ṣ, as *soṇhā*.

11 It may be worth while to trace the steps by which *trayodaśa* becomes *teraha*. By i 5, we have *treyodaśa*, by ii. 2, iii. 3, *teodasa*, by ii. 14, 44, *teoraha* and, finally, as the *e* and *o* meet in sandhi, by iv. 1, the *o* is elided.

12 Two MSS. make this rule optional (by continuing vā from S. 45), and add *diaso*, which is the usual form in the plays.

SECTION THE THIRD

UPARILOPAḤ KAGADATADAPAṢASĀṂ (1)

The eight consonants *k*, *g*, *ḍ*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *ṣ*, *s*, are elided when standing first in a conjunct; and the remaining letter, if it is not at the beginning of the word, is doubled by sūtras 50, 51 of this Section.[1] Thus,

[*k*.] bhattaṃ, sitthao.

bhakta, 'devoted'; sikthaka, 'bee's-wax' (neut.).

[*g*.] muddho, siṇiddho.

mugdha, 'foolish' (? charmed—Ed.); snigdha, 'kind'.*

[*ḍ*] khaggo, sajjo.

khaḍga, 'a sword'; shaḍaja, 'the fourth note of the gamut'.

[*t*.] uppalam, uppāo.

utpala, 'a blue lotus'; utpāta, 'a portent'.

[*d*.] muggo, muggaro.

Mudga, 'a kidney-bean'; mudgara, 'a hammer'.

[*p*.] sutto, pajjatto.

supta, 'asleep'; paryāpta, 'adequate'.

[*sh*.] goṭṭhī, niṭṭhuro,

goṣṭhī, 'an assembly' (? group—Ed.); niṣṭhura, 'harsh'.

[*s*.] khaliaṃ, neho.

skhalita, 'stumbling'; sneha. 'love'.

1 Sūtras 50, 51 are constantly required in carrying out the following sūtras Varauchi's plan with regard to conjuncts is, first to enjoin the elision of certain letters (sūtras 1—8), then in other cases (sūtras 9—49), to enjoin the substitution of a single letter for the conjunct, but whether the change be thus an elision or a substitution, in either case, by sūtras 50 and 51 this letter is *doubled*, unless it be *r* or *h* (sūtra 54), or at the beginning of a word

* (? pleasing—Ed.)

ADHO MANAYĀM (2)

The consonants *m*, *n*, and *y* are elided, when standing last in a conjunct, and the remaining letter is doubled, as before, by sūtras 50, 51. Thus,

[*m*.] sossam, rassī, juggam, vaggī.

śusma, 'light'; raśmi, 'a ray'; yugma, 'a pair'; vāgmin, 'eloquent'.

[*n*] naggo.

nagna, 'naked'.

[*y*.] sommo, joggo.

saumya, 'mild'; yogya, 'fit'.

SARVATRA LAVARĀM (3)

The letters *l*, *v*,[2] *r* are always elided, whether they stand first or last in a conjuct, and the remaining letter is doubled as before. Thus,

[*l*.] ukkā, vakkalam, vikkavo.

ulkā, 'a torch', valkala, 'bark', viklava, 'agitated.'

]*v*.] loddhao, pikkam [*cf*. 1. 3].

lobdhaka, 'a hunter'; pakva, 'cooked'.

[*r*.] akko, sakko.

arka, 'the sun', śakra, 'Indra'.

DRE RO VĀ (4)

In the conjunct *dr*, the elision of *r* is optional; thus we have

doho or droho, chando or chandro, ruddo or rudro.

droha, 'mischief', chandra, 'the moon'; Rudra, 'a demigod.'

SARVAJÑA-TULYEṢU ÑAḤ (5)

In words like *sarvajña*, the *ñ* is elided: as.

savvajjo, ingiajjo.

2 *Or b, as there is no d[illegible] between the two letters in Prākrit.*

sarvajña, 'omniscient'; ingitajña, 'knowing signs'.

This elision of *n* takes place in all words which are similarly derived from *jñā*, 'to know'. [This explains the *tulya* of the sūtra.]

ŚMAŚRUŚMAŚĀNAYORĀDEḤ (6)

The first letter of *śmaśru*, 'the beard,' and *śmaśāno*, 'a cemetery,' is elided: as, *massū*, *masānam*.

MADHYĀHNE HASYA (7)

In the word *madhyāhna*, 'noon,' *h* is elided as, *majjhanno*.

HNAALAHMESU NALAMĀM STHITIRŪRDDHVAM (8)

In the conjuncts, *hn*, *hl*, *hm*, the letters *n*, *l*, *m* are respectively written before the *h*: as,

puvvanho, avaranho, kalhāram, alhādo, vamhano.

pūrvāhna, 'fore-noon', aparāhna, 'afternoon', kahlāra, 'the white water-lily', āhlāda, 'joy', brāhmana, 'a brāhman'.

YUKTASYA (9)

This is an *adhikāra* [*cf*. i. 1] and is implied in the succeeding sūtras to the end of the section. Our rules are henceforth to be understood as supplying a substitute for a conjunct. *atthī* for *asthi* (by sūtra 11) will serve as an instance. The use of the word 'conjunct' shews that these substitutions are not intended to apply to *final* letters, since the second member of a final conjunct is rejected by Pān. viii. 2, 23.

STASYA THAḤ (10)

th is substituted for the conjunct *sṭ*: as,

latthi, ditthī.

yasti, 'a stick'; drsti, 'sight'.

ASTHINI (11)

In the word *asthi*, 'a bone,' *th* is substituted for the conjunct as, *atthi*.

STASYA THAḤ (12)

Th is substituted for *st*. This sūtra revokes sūtra 1, which would enjoin the elision of the *s*, as being the first member of the conjunct *st*.

hattho, samattho, thuī, thavao, kotthuho.

hasta, 'the hand', samasta, 'all', stuti, 'praise', stavaka, 'a nosegay', kaustubha, 'Krshna's jewel'.

NA STAMBE (13)

In the word *stamba*, 'a shrub,' *th* is not substituted for *st* as, *tambo* [*i e.* the *s* is elided by iii. 1].

STAMBHE KHAḤ (14)

In the word *stambha*, 'a post,' *kh* is substituted for *st* as, *khambho*.

STHĀṆAVAHARE (15)

In the word *sthānu*, 'firm,' *kh* is substituted for the conjunct, except when it signifies Śiva as, *khānū*. Why do we make this exception? When it signifies Śiva, it *is thānū* (by *s.* 12).

SPHOTAKE (16)

In the word *sphotaka*, 'a boil,' *kh* is substituted for the conjunct as, *khodao*.

RYAŚAYYĀBHIMANYUSU JAḤ (17)

J is substituted for the conjunct *ry*, and also for the conjunct in the two words *śayyā* and *abhimanyu* as,

kajjam, sejjā, ahimajjū.

kārya, 'to be done', śayyā, 'a bed'; Abhimanyu, 'Arjuna's son.'

TŪRYADHAIRYASAUNDARYĀSCHARYAPARYANTEṢU RAḤ (18)

In these words r is substituted for the conjunct ry, (and as by s. 54, r and h are never doubled, s. 50 is here inoperative.)

tūram, dhīram [cf. 1. 39], sunderam, achchheram, perantam.

tūrya, 'a musical instrument', dhairya, 'firmness', saundarya, 'beauty', āścharya, 'wonderful', paryanta, 'limit'

SŪRYE VĀ (19)

In the word *sūrya*, 'the sun,' r is optionally substituted for *ry*. as, *sūro*, or else by s. 17, *sujjo*.

CHAURYASAMEṢU RIAM (20)

In words like *chaurya*, *riam* is substituted for *ry*, as, choriam, soriam, vīriam.

chaurya, 'theft', śaurya, 'heroism'*, virya, 'heroism.'

From the use of the phrase 'like' in the sūtra, this is a class, which can only be determined by authority [cf. 1. 2].

PARYASTAPARYĀṆASAUKUMĀRYEṢU LAḤ (21)

In the words *paryasta*, 'fallen', *paryāna*, 'a saddle', *saukumārya*, 'youthfulness,' l is substituted for *ry*: as *pallattham*, *pallānam*, *soamallam*.[3]

ṚTASYA ṬAḤ (22)

ṭ is substituted for *ṛt*. as,

kevaṭṭao, naṭṭao naṭṭaī.

kaivartaka, 'a fisherman', nartaka, 'an actor', nartakī, 'an actress.'

* (? valour.—Ed.)

3 We may here retrace the steps by which *saukumāryam* becomes *soamallam* By I 22, 41, it becomes *soamāryam* (the *k* being elided by ii. 2) the present sūtra, with iii. 50 gives *ll* for *r*) and the *ā* is shortened before the conjunct by i 10 [see note 2 Sec I]

PATTANE (23)

t is also substituted for the conjunct in *pattana*, 'a town;' as *paṭṭaṇam*.

NA DHŪRTĀDIṢU (24)

ṭ is not substituted for *rt* in the class *dhūrta*, etc. Thus we have

dhūtto, kittī, vattamāṇam, vattā, āvatto, samvattao, ṇivattao, vattiā, atto, kattarī, muttī, (*r* being elided in these words by iii. 3).

dhūrta, 'a gamester'; kīrti, 'fame'; vartamāna, 'existing' vārtā, 'tidings'; āvarta, 'a whirlool'; samvartaka, 'Baladeva'; nivartaka, 'returning'; vartikā, 'a wick'; ārta, 'pained'; kartarī, 'a knife', mūrti, 'form.'

GARTEḌAḤ (25)

In the word *garta*, 'a hole,' *ḍ* is substituted for *rt*: as, *gaḍḍo*.

GARDABHASAMMARDAVITARDIVICHHARDI ṢURDASYA (26)

In the words *gardabha*, 'smell'; *sammarda*, 'trampling'; *vitardi*, 'a covered terrace'; *vichhardi*, 'a fine building' (?), *ḍ* is substituted for *rd*: as, *gaḍḍaho*, *sammaḍḍo*, *viaḍḍī*, *vichhaḍḍī*.

TYATHYADYĀM CHACHHAJĀḤ (27)

ch, *chh*, *j*, are respectively substituted for *ty*, *thy*, *dy*; as,

[*ty*.] nichcham, pachchakkham.

nitya, 'constant'; pratyakṣa, 'perceptible.'

[*thy*.] rachchhā, michchhā, pachchham.

rathyā, 'a road'; mithyā, 'falsely'; pathya, 'proper' (?).

[*dy*.] vijjā, vejjam.

vidyā, 'knowledge'; vaidya, 'medical.' (? doctor—Ed.)

DHYAHYORJHAḤ (28)

jh is substituted for *dhy* and *hy*: as,

[*dhy*.] majjham, ajjhāo.

madhya, 'middle'; adhyāya, 'a chapter.'

[*hy*.] vajjhao, gujjhao.

vāhyaka, 'external'; guhyaka, 'secret.'

SKASKAKṢĀM KHAḤ (29)

kh is substituted for *shk*, *sk*, and *ks*: as,

[*shk*.] mukkham, pokkharo.

muska, 'a heap,' (masc.); puskara, 'a lake.'

[*sk*.] khando, khandho.

skanda, 'skanda'; skandha, 'the shoulder.'

[*ks*.] khado, jakkho.

ksata, 'wounded', yaksa, 'a demigod.'

AKHYĀDIṢU CHHAḤ (30)

In *akshi*, etc., *chh* is substituted for *ks*: as,

achchhī, lachchhī, chhunno, chhíram, chhuddho, uchchhitto, sanchchham, uchchhū, uchchhā, chhāram, richchho, machchhiā, chhuam, chhuram, chhetthm, vachchho, dachchho, kuchchhī.

akshi, 'the eye'; laksmī, 'beauty', kshunna, 'bruised', ksīra, 'milk, ksubdha, 'agitated', utksipta, 'tossed up'; sadriksa, 'like', iksu, 'the cane' [*cf.* i. 15]; uksan, 'an ox', ksāra, 'black salt'; riksa, 'a bear'; maksikā, 'a fly', ksuta, 'sneezing', ksura, 'a razor', ksetra, 'a field'; vaksas, 'the breast'; daksa, 'Daksa', kuksi, 'the belly', etc.

KṢAMĀVṚKSANESU VĀ (31)

In the words *kṣamā*, 'patience'; *vrksa*, 'a tree', *ksana*, 'a moment, a feast,' *chh* is optionally substituted for *ks*: as, *chhamā* or *khamā*; *vachchho* or *rukkho*; *chhanam*

or *khanam*. It should be observed[4] that the *chh* is used in *vrksa* when *a* is substituted for *r* [*of*. i. 32], and in *ksana* when it signifies 'a feast.'

ṢMAPAKṢMAVISMAYEṢU MHAḤ (32)

mh is substituted for *shm*, and also for the conjunct in the two words *paksman* and *vismaya*: thus,

gimho, umhā, pamho, vimhao.

grīsma, 'the hot season', usman, 'the hot season'; paksman, 'an eyelash'; vismaya. 'surprise.'

HNASNAṢṆAKSṆASNĀM ṆHAḤ (33)

nh is substituted for *hn*, *sn*, *sn*, *ksn*, and *śn*: thus,

[*hn*.] vanhī, janhū.

vahni, 'fire', jahnu, 'Jahnu'.

[*sn*.] Nhānam, panhudam.

snāna, 'bathing', prasnuta, 'flowing.'

[*sn*] vinhū, kanho.

Visnu, 'Visnu', krsna, 'Krsna' [iii. 61].

[*ksn*.] sanham, tinham.

ślaksna, 'small'; tīksna, 'sharp.'

[*śn*.] panho, sinho.

Praśna, 'a question', śiśna, 'penis.'

CHIHNENDHAḤ (34)

In the word *chihna*, 'a mark,' *ndh* is substituted for the conjunct: as, *chindham*.

SPASYA PHAH (35)

ph is substituted for *sp* as,

puppham, sappham, nipphāo.

4 Lassen (Gymnosoph p 21) explains *iti* in this sense as 'desideratum est, optatum, i e, ā doctrinæ hujus conditoribus constitutum It is especially used to introduce an additional rule of a Commentator

puspa, 'a flower', śaspa, 'young grass', nispāya, 'without water.'

SPASYA SARVATRA STHITASYA[5] (36)

ph is substituted for *sp*, wherever it is found (that is, in the beginning or middle of a word): as,

phanso [*cf*. iv. 15], yhandanam.

sparśa, touch', spandana, 'a throbbing'.

SI CHA (37)

st is also sometimes substituted for *sp*: as, *padisiddhī* for *pratispardhin*, 'a rival' [*cf*. i. 2].

VĀSPE ASRUṆI HAḤ (38)

h is substituted for *sp* in the word *vāspa*, when it signifies, 'a tear': as *vāho*. Why do we specify this signification? When it signifies, 'hot vapour,' we must use *vappho* (in accordance with s 35).

KĀRṢĀPAṆE (39)

In the word *kārsāpana*, 'a certain weight,' *h* is substituted for the conjunct. as, *kāhāvano*

ŚCHATSAPSĀM CHHAḤ (40)

chh is substituted for the conjuncts *śch*, *ts*, and *ps*. thus,

[*śch*.] pachchhimam, achchheram, [*ts*.] vachchho, vachchharo, [*ps*] lichchhā, juguchchhā.

paśchima, 'western', āścharya, 'wonderful'; vatsa, 'a calf', vatsara, 'a year', lipsā, 'desire' (? covetousness—Ed.), jugupsā, 'censure.'

VṚIṢCHIKE NCHHAḤ (41)

In the word *vriśchika*, 'a scorpion,' *nchh* is substituted for *śch*. as, *vinchhuo* (*cf*. i. 15)

5 Though all the MSS (Except W) read *Sarvatra sthitasya* it is not clear why the words are needed in this sūtra

NOTSUKOTSAVAYOḤ (42)

In the words *utsuka*, 'regretting,' and *utsava*, 'a feast,' the substitution of *chh* for *ts* (enjoined by s. 40) is forbidden: we have therefore *ussuo* and *ussavo* (by iii. 1, 50).

NMO MAḤ (43)

m is substituted for *nm*, although (by s. 2) *m* is properly elided when it is the second member of a conjunct: as,

jammo, vammaho.

janman, 'birth'; manmatha, 'love'. [*cf*. ii. 39]

MNAJÑAPANCHĀŚATPANCHADAŚESU NAḤ (44)

n is substituted for *mn* and *jn*, and for the conjunct in the words *panchāśat* and *panchodāsa*: as,

pajjunno, janno, vinnānam, pannāsā, pannaraho.

pradyumna, 'Kāma'; yajna, 'a sacrifice'; vijñāna, 'knowledge'; panchāśat, 'fifty', panchadaśa, 'fifteenth.'

TĀLAVṚNTE ṆTAḤ (45)

In the word *tālovrnta*, 'a fan,' *nt* is substituted for the conjunct: as, *tālbventaam*.

BHINDIPĀLE ṆDAḤ (46)

In the word *bhindipāla*, 'a dart,' *nd* is substituted for the conjunct: as, *bhindivālo*.

VIHVALE BHAHAU VĀ (47)

In the word *vihvala*, 'agitated,' *bh* and *b* are optionally substituted for the conjunct: as, *vebbhalo*, *vibolo* [for *e* o[c] the first form see i. 12].

ĀTMANI PAḤ (48)

In the word *ātman*, 'self,' *p* is substituted for the conjunct: as, *appā*.

KMASYA (49)

p is substituted for the conjunct *km*: as,

ruppaṃ, ruppinī.

rukma, 'gold', Rukmiṇī, 'Lakṣmī.'

The Commentator remarks that this and the preceding sūtra (which might otherwise have been united) are separated, because the latter of the two (s. 49) is absolute, while the former (s 48) is only partially applicable, as *ātman* admits of another form [as attā, by III 2, *cf.* var. lect v 46] besides *appā*

ŚEṢĀDEŚAYORDVITVAM ANĀDAU (50)

Wherever after performing an elision or substitution enjoined by a rule, a single consonant comes to represent a conjunct, this letter is always doubled, except in the beginning of a word

As examples of such, after elision

bhuttam, maggo.

bhukta, 'eaten' [the *k* elided by III 1], mārga, 'a path' [the *r* elided by III. 3]

As examples of such, after substitution.

laṭṭhī, diṭṭhī, hattho.

yaṣṭi, 'a stick', dṛṣṭi, 'sight' [III 10]; hasta, 'the hand' [III 12]

Why do we except those which are at the beginning of a word? Compare such cases as,

khaliam, khambho, thavao.

skhalita, 'fallen' [the *s* elided by III. 1], stambha, 'a post' [III. 14] stavaka 'a nosegay' [III 12].

VARGEṢU YUJAḤ PŪRVAḤ (51)

When the doubling enjoined by the previous sūtra takes place, whether in regard to the first or the second member of the conjunct, wherever the single representative is an aspirate (that is, the second or fourth letter of its class)[6]

6 The *Prākṛta Sarvasva* explains *yuj* 'Yug iti samānām dvitiyachaturthādinam saṃjñā

it is to be doubled by prefixing its own non-aspirate: in the case of the other letters, of course they themselves are their own duplicates.

Examples by elision:

vakkhānam, aggho, muchchhā, nijjharo, luddho, nibbharo.

vyākhyāna, 'explanation', argha, 'oblation', mūrchhā, 'fainting', nirjhara, 'cascade', lubdha, 'greedy', nirbhara, 'excessive.' (?—Ed.)

Examples of substitution:

ditthī, latthī, vachchho, vippharisо, nitthāro, jakkho, lachchhī, atthī, puppham.

drsti, 'sight', yasti, 'a stick', vaksas, 'the breast' [*cf.* iv. 19], visparśa, 'touch', nistāra, 'crossing', yaksa, 'a demigod', laksmī, 'beauty' (?—Ed), asthi, 'a bone', puspa, 'a flower'.

NĪDĀDIṢU (52)

In the words *nīdā*, etc., the medial letter is doubled, although it is not a conjunct: as,

neddam [for the *e* see i. 19] sottam, pemmam, vāhittam, ujjuo, jannao, jovvanam

nīda, 'a nest', srota, 'a river', preman, 'affection' vyāhrta, 'pronounced', rju, 'straight', Janaka, 'the name of a king', yauvana, 'youth'.

ĀMRATĀMRAYOR BAH (53)

In the words *āmra*, 'the mango', and *tāmra*, 'copper', *b* is employed in the doubling enjoined by sūtra 50: as *Ambam, tambam.*[7]

7 For this difficult sutra *of* the Var Lect Four of the MSS of Vararuchi read *avvam*, etc , two seem to read as above, which is clearly supported by Hema-ch , the Prāk Sarvasva, Prāk. Sanjiv, and Sankṣ Sara If it be correct, I suppose the successive changes are *amam* [by iii 3] then [by iii 50] *ammam*, but here s 53 interposes, and we have *ambam* or *amvam* The only other way of explaining it seems to

NA RAHOḤ (54)

r and *h* are never doubled: as,

dhīraṃ, tūraṃ [iii. 18], jīhā [i. 17, iii. 3], vāho [iii. 38].

dhairya, 'firmness'; tūrya, 'a musical instrument'; jihvā, 'a tongue'; vāṣpa, 'a tear'.

ĀṄO JÑASYA (55)

When *jñ* is preceded by the preposition *ā*, its substitute *ṇ* (by sūtra 44) is not doubled: as, āṇā, āṇattī, for ājñā, ājñapti, 'an order'. Why, "when preceded by *ā*"? In *saṇṇā* for *sanjñā*, 'a name', the rule does not hold.[8]

[NA VINDUPARE] (56)

A letter, which immediately follows anusvāra, is not doubled: as, sankanto, sanjhā, for sankrānta, 'gone'; sandhyā, 'twilight'. The *k* and *jh* would otherwise have been doubled by sūtra 3, 28, 50.

SAMĀSE VĀ. (57)

In a compound word, the doubling is optional, whether in the case of an elision or substitution: as,

naiggāmo *or* ṇaīgāmo, kusumappaaro *or* *kusumapaaro*; devatthuī *or* devathuī, āṇālakkhambho *or* āṇālakhambo.

nadīgrāma, 'a village by a river', kusumaprakara, 'a nosegay', devastuti, 'praise of the gods'; ālānastambha, 'an elephant's post' [for this, *cf*, iii, 14, and iv. 29].

SEVĀDIṢU CHA (58)

In the words *sevā*, etc., the doubling of the medial letter its also optional: as,

sevvā, sevā, ekkam, eaṃ, ṇakkho, ṇaho; devvaṃ,

be by reading *amvvam*, i e, the *v* is substituted for the *r* and then doubled.

8 This instance is not a good one, if the next sūt. be genuine, which forbids the doubling of the *n* after the anusv. of *sam* Probably this led to the var. lect., *vinnatti* = *vijñapti*.

daīvam, asivvam, asivam, tellokkam, teloam, nīhitto, nihio, tunhikko, tunhio, kanniāro, kaniāro, digghaṁ, dīham, rattī, rāī, dukkhio, duhio, asso, aso,[9] issaro, īsaro, vissāso, vīsāso, nissāso, nīsāso, rassī, rasī, mitto, mio; pusso, puso,

sevā, 'service', eka, 'one', nakkha, 'a nail", daiva, 'fate', aśiva, 'unlucky', trailokya, 'the three worlds', nihita, 'entrusted', tūsnīka, 'silent', karnikāra, 'the tree so called', dīrgha, 'long', rātri, 'the night', duhkhita, 'wretched'(? Afflicted—Ed.); aśva, 'a-horse', īśvara, 'God', viśvāsa, 'confidence', niśvāsa, 'a sigh', raśmi, 'a ray', mitra, 'friendly', pushya, 'the eighth lunar asterism.'

The alternative can be considered in two ways, in words like *sevā*, there would have been no occasion for the doubling, except for this rule, in words like *dirgha*, the doubling is already enjoined by other rules [*e g.* iii. 3, and *iii.* 50], and therefore the option granted by this is required to dispense with their operation.[10]

VIPRAKARṢAḤ (59)

This being an *adhikāra* will be implied in the following sūtras. *yuktasya* still continues to be implied from *s.* 9. We are therefore to understand that the subject of the succeeding sūtras to the end of the section will be the separation [*viprakarssa*] of conjuncts.

KLISTASLIṢTARATNAKRIYĀŚĀRNGESU TATSVARAVATPŪRVASYA (60)

In the words *klista*, etc, the conjunct consonants are divided, and the first consonant, which has no vowel of its

9 I should prefer *āso* [*cf* i 2] though the MSS and the Pr. Sanj have *aso*

10 For this rule, *cf* Lass, pp 275—7, who would explain some of the instances by the force of the accent

own, suffers vocalisation, and becomes sounded with the original vowel [11] as,

kilittham, silittham, raanam, kiriā, sārango (or in its crude form 'sāranga'.)

klista, 'distressed', ślista, 'embraced,' ratna, 'a gem', kriyā, 'an action,' śārnga, 'horny.'

KRSṆE VĀ (61)

In the word *krsna*, the separation of the conjunct *shn* is optional:; in the case of separation, the vowel must be supplied as before, here, however, the option is definitely restricted, for the separation is imperative, when *krsna* means 'black,' as *kasano*, but is forbidden when it means "Visnu," as *kanho* [iii. 33].

IH SRĪHRĪKRĪTAKLĀNTAKLESAMLĀNASVAPNASPARSAHARSĀRHAGARHESU (62)

In the following words the conjunct is divided, and the first consonant suffers vocalisation as before, but the inserted vowel is *i*, and not the original vowel.

sirī, hiri, kirīto, kilanto, kileso, milānam, sivino, pharisо, hariso, ariho, gariho

śrī, 'beauty', hrī, 'shame', krīta, 'bought', klānta, 'wearied', kleśa, 'distress', mlāna 'withered', svapna, 'sleep', sparśa, 'touch', harsa, 'joy', arha, 'worthy', garha, 'a censurer.'

AH KSHMĀSLĀGHAYOH (63)

In the words *kshmā*, 'the earth,' and *slāgha*, 'praise,' the conjunct is divided as before, but the first consonant is sounded with *a*. as, *khamā salahā*

11 At the same time the new syllable so created is of course, subject to previous rules, and thus the first consonant is sometimes elided by ii 2. Thus we have *ratna ratana* and then (by ii 2) *ranna*, and in s 65 *padmo paduma* and finally *paüma*

SNEHE VĀ (64)

In the word *sneha*, 'love', the division of the conjunct is optional, but when it does take place, the first consonant is sounded with *a*, as in the preceding sūtra: as, *saṇebo*, *ṇebo*. [For the second form, *cf.* iii. i.]

UḤ PADMATANVĪSAMEṢU (65)

In *padma*, 'a lotus,' and words like *tānvī* (fem. of *tanu*, 'slender,') such as *laghvī* (fem. of *laghu*, 'light') etc., the conjunct is divided, and the first consonant is sounded with *u* instead of the original vowel: as, *Paümam*, *taṇuī*, *labuī*.

JYĀYĀMĪT (66)

In *jyā*, 'a bow-string,' the conjunct is divided, and the first consonant is sounded with *ī*, instead of the original vowel: as, *jīā*.

SECTION THE FOURTH

SANDHĀVACHĀMAJLOPAVISESĀ BAHULAM (1)

acb is here of course the *pratyāhāra*, or technical term for all the vowels. When vowels are in sandhi, or in a state of immediate conjunction, various kinds of vowels and elisions arise

1. Various kinds of vowels as,

jaunaadam, jaunāadam, naīssotto, naīsotto, vahumuham, vahūmuham, kannauram, kannaūram, •iroveanā, siraveanā, piāpīam, piāpiam, sīāsiam, siāsiam, savomuo, savomūo, saroruham, sararuham.

yamunātata, 'the bank of the Jumnā', nadisrotas, 'the river-stream,' vadhūmukha, 'having a woman's face',' karnapūta, 'the mimosa śirīsa', śirovedanā, 'a pain in the head,' pitāpīta, 'drunk and not drunk', sitāsita, 'white and black', saroruha, 'a lotus.'

2. Various kinds of elision as,

rāaūlam, rāulam, tuhaddham, tuhaaddham, mahaddham, mahaaddham, pāvadanam, pāavadanam [viii 51], kumbhāro, kumbhaāro, pavanuddhaam, pavanoddhaam.

rājakula, 'a royal family', tavārddha, 'half of thee,' mamārddha, 'half of me', pādapatana, 'prostration at any one's feet', kumbhakāra, 'a potter', pavanoddhata, 'tossed by the wind.'

When a conjunct consonant follows, it is always the *first* of the two meeting vowels which is elided (when there is any elision at all, which is not always required) From the use of *bahula*, or 'variously,' in the sūtra, we conclude that these changes are in some cases absolute, in others they admit of different forms, hence, when other forms are met

with, they are still to be considered as here provided for in the *lakṣmaṇa* or Sūtra.[1]

UDUMBARE DORLOPAH (2)

In *udumbara*, 'copper,' *du* is elided : as, *umbaram*.

1 The Comm. of this sūtra is obscure, and its examples corrupt, and the MSS. afford little aid ; but the Prāk Sanjiv, by its use of the sūtra in its Comm. on other Sūtras throws some light upon its meaning. Heae we continually find it quoted to explain any apparent irregularity in the sandhi of a Prākṛit example, which is not provided for by any definite rule. For instance, let us take the word *teraha*=Sans. *trayodaśa*, and trace the successive changes by which Vararuchi brings out the Prākṛt form. By i. 5, we have *treyodāsa*, by ii 14, 44, *treyoraha*, and by ii 2, iii. 3, *teoraha*, but we have no rule for the elision of the *o*, except iv. 1. which is adopted by the Prāk Sanj. Bhāmaha, in his first list of examples, appears to extend the rule beyond its legitimate application, and includes under it the various instances where the finals of feminine nouns in *ā*, *ī*, and *ū* are optionally shortened in composition [*cf.* Lass., p 290], as in *sahumuhaṃ* or *sahūmuhaṃ*, etc , or where neuter words in *as* admit, when compounded, of two forms in *o* or *a*, as *siro-* or *sira-veanā*. (The first three pairs of ex. are given also in the Comm of Hema-ch , sūt. 3, *dīrghahrasvau mithovṛttau*) The forms in the line of the Sans text, *plāplaṃ*, etc , are very doubtful, as well as their Sans. interpretation. *Savomuo* is certainly corrupt, and neither of the Sans. explanations given in the MSS is satisfactory. That in DE seems the best, if we correct it to *sarvāmṛta*, but the two Prāk. forms still need some correction. In lines 9, 10, if we make the corrections *pā-pāavadanam*, and add the form *pavanoddhaaṃ* in 1 10, we may adopt the reading of BDEW as given in the text, and their Sans. explanations as given in the var lect The lines 1—3 after sut. 1 ch. IV of the text *beginning with the word 'samyogapare' are not without difficulty* Lassen has given 1 1 as a new sūtra, but I prefer taking it as an additional observation of the Comment. to explain such a form as *pavanuddhaaṃ* *Pavanoddhaaṃ* would have been equally *correct*, but not *pavanandhaaṃ*, as the elision before a conjunct (where it takes place at all), must be that of the former vowel. Similarly in the Bhaṭṭi-Kāvya, vol. ii, p 114, on the word *ravottunga*, the Schol remarks that although by the rule '*lopo chah*,' which enjoins the elision of the preceding vowel, when a second follows, it should be *ravuttunga*, still by the influence of the *bahu's* the elision is not absolute [*Atra yadyapi prākṛte 'lopo cha' ityanena achi pare acho lope ravuttunge syāt, tathāpi bahulādhikārān nāsti lopaḥ*]

KĀLĀYASE YASYA VĀ (3)

In *kālāyasa*, 'iron,' *ya* is optionally elided: as, *Kālāsaṃ*, *kālāasaṃ*.

BHĀJANE JASYA (4)

In *bhājana*, 'a vessel,' *ja* is optionally elided: as, *bhāṇam*, *bhāaṇaṃ*.

YĀVADĀDIṢU VASYA (5)

In the words *yāvat*, etc., *v* is optionally elided: as,

jā, jāva; tā, tāva; pārāo, pārāvao; aṇuttanta aṇuvattanta; jīaṃ, jīviaṃ; eaṃ, evvaṃ; ea. evva; kualaaṃ, kuvalaaṃ.

yāvat, 'how far'; tāvat, 'so far'; pārāvata, 'a dove'; anuvartamāna, 'following'; jīvita, 'life'; evam, eva, 'so'; kuvalaya,' 'a blue lotus,' etc.

ANTYASYA HALAḤ (6)

The 'option' of the preceding sūtras ends here. A final consonant is always elided: as,

jaso [*cf.* iv. 18, 19], ṇahaṃ, saro, kammo, jāva, tāva.

yaśas, 'glory; nabhas, 'the sky'; saras, 'a lake'; karman, 'a deed'; yāvat, 'how far'; tāvat, 'so far.'

STRIYĀMĀT (7)

ā is substituted for the final consonant of a feminine word: as,

sariā, paḍivaā, vāā.

sarit, 'a river'; pratipad, ' the first day of a lunar fortnight'; vāch, 'speech'.

RO RĀ (8)

rā is substituted for a final *r*, in a feminine word: as,

dhurā, girā.

dhur, 'the carriage-pole'; gir, 'speech'.

NA VIDYUTI (9)

ā is not substituted for the final letter of *vidyut*,

'lightning' (by s. 7), but although a feminine noun ending in a consonant, it follows sūtra 6, and becomes *vijjū*.

SARADO DAḤ (10)

da is substituted for the final *d* of *śarad*, 'autumn,' and thus we find *sarado* [for its gender, *cf.* S. 18].

DIKPRĀVṚṢOS SAḤ (11)

Similarly *sa* is substituted for the final sibilant of *diś*, 'a region,' and *prāvṛṣ*, 'the rainy season': as, *disā*, *pāuso* (for the change in gender, *cf.* s. 18; *diś* continues feminine as before).[2]

MO VINDUḤ (12)

anusvāra is substituted for a final *m*: as, *achchham*, *vachchham*, *bhaddam*, *aggim*, etc.[3]

ACHI MASCHA (13)

When a vowel immediately follows, *m* may optionally remain, or, in other words, sandhi in this case is allowed: as, *phalam avaharai* or *phalamavaharai*, 'he gathers fruit'.

NAÑORHALI (14)

ansvāra is substituted for the dental and palatal nasals when a consonant follows, and so also is *m*[4] (as we infer from the preceding sūt.): as,

anso *or* amso, kanso *or* kamso, vanchanīam *or* vamchanīam vinjho *or* vimjho.

2 'id tantum valt regula, non dicendum esse *dikā* et *prāvṛtā*.' Lass Inst

3 As this and the two following rules merely refer to Prākṛt orthography, they are of no importance in an English translation, and can hardly be understood, except by those who understand the original text.

4 There can be little doubt that this addition of Bhāmaha's is wrong, the Prāk Sanj (though corrupt) is silent about it. Hemachandra's corresponding sūt. (i 24), is '*Nañanano vyañjane. ṅa ña ṇa na ityeteṣām sthāne, vyañjane pare, anusvāro bhavati*' In the ex *ansa* and *kansa* Bhāmaha appears to consider the nasal as a dental, in consequence of the dental sibilant which follows it.

ansa, 'a part'; kansa, 'the name of a king'; vañchanīya, 'to be tricked'; vindhya' 'the Vindhya mountains' (vinjha = vindhya,, by iii. 28).

VAKRĀDIṢU (15)

In *vakra*, etc. anusvāra is inserted as an augment: as,

vankaṃ, tansaṃ, hanso, ansū,[5] mansū, guṇṭhī, manthaṃ, maṇansinī, dansanaṃ, phanso, vaṇṇo, paiḍnsudaṃ, anso, ahimunko.

vakra, 'crooked'; tryasra, 'a triangle'; hrasva, 'short'; aśru, 'a tear'; śmaśru, 'a beard'; gṛishṭi, 'a cow with one calf'; masta, 'the head'; manasvinī, 'a wise woman'; darśana, 'sight'; sparśa, 'touch'; varṇa, 'a colour'; pratiśruta, promised'; aśva, 'a horse'; abhimukta, 'released,' etc.

MĀNSĀDIṢU VĀ (16)

In such words as *mānsa*, etc., the use of anusvāra is optional: as,

mansaṃ, māsaṃ; kahaṃ, kaha; ṇūṇaṃ, ṇūṇa; tahiṃ, tahi (vi. 7); āsuṃ, āsu.[6]

mānsa, 'flesh'; kathaṃ, 'how'; nūnaṃ, 'certainly'; tasmin, 'in that'; āsu, fem. loc. plural of *idaṃ*, 'this'.

There is no definite class of words, such as *mānsa*, etc.; but wherever, through fear of violating the metre, anusvāra is sometimes used and sometimes omitted, the Commentator wishes such a word to be considered as included in the class referred to.

YAYI TADVARGĀNTAḤ (17)

When any consonant immediately follows, except *h*

5 For this masculine form of *āśru*, *cf*. Williams' Śak. p. 165, where Boehtlingk's correction (Śak. p. 217) is adopted.

6 *Āsum āsu* are conjectural. This sūtra is considered also to apply to the anusvāra, which is optionally added to the terminations of the instr. and loc. plural, and neuter nom. plur. etc. as, *vachchhehiṃ* or *-hi*, *vachchhesu* or *-suṃ*, *vaṇāiṃ* or *-āiṃ*.

and the sibilants (*i.e.*, the *pratyāhāra yay*), Anusvāra may optionally become the nasal of the class to which the letter belongs:] as, *saṅkā*, *saṅkho*, *aṅko*, *aṅgaṃ*, *sañcharaï*, *saṇḍho*, etc.; or we may use the option of the rule, and say *paṅkaṃ*, *vindū*, *sankā*, etc. Why do we use the *pratyāhāra yay* in the sūtra? That we may exclude *h* and the sibilants, as in *anso*, etc., where we can only use anusvāra.

NASĀNTAPRĀVṚṬSARADAH PUNSI (18)

Nouns ending in *n* and *s*, and the two words *prāvṛṣ* and *śarad*, are to be used in the masculine gender (the final *n* and *s* being elided by sūr. 6): as,

kammo, jammo, vammo.

katman, 'a deed'; janman, 'birth'; varman, 'armour'.

jaso, tamo, saro.

yaśas, 'glory'; tamas, 'darkness'; saras, 'a lake'.

pāüso, sarado.

prāvṛsh, 'the rainy season' [*cf.* iv. 11]; śarad, 'the autumn' [*cf.* iv. 10].

NA SIRONABHASĪ (19)

śiras, 'the head', and *nabhas*, 'the sky' (although both end in *s*), must not be used in the masculine (but in the neuter, as in Sanskṛt), and thus we have *siraṃ* and *ṇahaṃ*.

PṚIṢṬHĀKṢIPRAŚNAḤ STRIYAṂ VĀ (20)

The three words *pṛiṣṭha* 'the back'; *akṣi*, 'the eye'; and *praśna*, 'a question,' *may be optionally used in the feminine gender*: *puṭṭhī* or *puṭṭhaṃ*, *achchhī* or *achchhaṃ*, *paṇhā* or *paṇho*.

ODAVĀPAYOḤ (21)

o is optionally substituted for the prepositions *ava* and *apa*, when in composition: as.

ohāso *or* avahāso, osāriaṃ *or* avasāriaṃ.

avahāsa, 'laughter;' apasārita, 'gone out.'

TALTVAYOR DĀTTAṆAU (22)

dā and *ttaṇa* are respectively substituted for the affixes *tal* and *tva* (which are used in Sanskṛt to form abstract nouns): as,

pīṇadā, pīṇattaṇaṃ, mūḍhadā, mūḍhattaṇaṃ.

pīnatā, pīnatva. 'fatness;' mūḍhatā, mūḍhatva, 'folly.'

KTVA ŪṆAḤ[7] (23)

ūṇa is substituted for *ktvā* (the affix of the indeclinable past participle): as,

goheūṇa, soūṇa, kāūṇa, dāūṇa.

gṛhītvā, 'having seized'; śrutvā, 'having heard'; kṛtvā, 'having made'; datvā, 'having given.'

TṚṆA IRAḤ ŚĪLE (24)

ira is substituted for the affix *tṛn*,[8] signifying *śīla*, 'habits', or 'disposition': as,

bhamiro, hasiro.

bhramaṇaśīla *or* bhramitṛi, 'fond of wandering'; hasanaśīla *or* hasitṛi, 'fond of laughing.'

ĀLVILLOLLĀLAVANTENTĀ MATUPAḤ (25)

ālu, *illa*, *ulla*, *āla*, *oanta*,[9] *inta* are substituted for *matup*, the affix signifying 'possession.'

īsālu, ṇiddālu; viārilla; mālāilla; viārulla; dhaṇāla, saddāla; dhaṇavanta, jovaṇavanta; rosāinta,[10] pāṇāinta.

īrṣāvat, 'envious'; nidrāvat, 'sleepy'; vikāravat, 'changed' mālāvat, 'having a garland'; dhanavat, 'wealthy'; śabdavat,

7 The Pr. Saṃj. gives this sūt. as *ktvā tūnah*, and similarly the Sanksh. Sāra, 180 [Lass. App. p. 47]; *cf.* Lass. Inst. p. 367, and *infra*, viii. 55.

8 *Cf.* Pān. iii. 2, 134 and 135.

9 Written *vanda* in Śak., Williams, p. 38, 1; *cf.* Boehtlingk, note p. 166.

10 *Cf.* Lass. pp. 289, 290.

'sounding', yauvanavat, 'youthful', rosavat, 'angry'; prānavat, 'alive.'

These various substitutes for *matup* must not be used indiscriminately, but with a due regard to the forms observed in classical authors

[Sometimes[11] we find *ā* instead of *matup*, and sometimes *manta*: as *hanumā* or *hanumanta* for *hanumat*, 'the monkey-chief', others use the substitutes *illa* and *ulla* in the sense of the affixes technically called *śaisikāh* (*cf.* Pān. iv. 2, 92), as *purilla* for *paurastya* (a derivative with the affix *tyak*, Pān. iv. 2, 98), 'produced in the east', *appulla* for *ātmīya* (a derivative with the affix *chha*, Pān iv. 2, 114) 'belonging to one's self'.

Instead of the pronouns *kim*, etc, in the sense of 'measure' (Pān. v., 2, 39), we should use *keddaha*, etc.: as,

keddaha, kettia, jeddaha. jettia, teddaha, tettia, eddaha, ettia

kiyat, 'how much', yāvat (explained by Pānini as 'yat parimānam asya') 'as much as', tāvat, 'so much', etāvat, 'thus much.'

Others add *huttam* as a substitute for the affix *krtvas*, (Pān. v. 4, 17), but the present Commentator wishes this to be considered as a provincialism as, *saahuttam* for *śatakrtvas*, 'a hundred times', *sahassahuttam* for *sahasrakrtvas*, 'a thousand times'

The affix ka is also frequently added to a word without changing its meaning (the *k* being of course elided by ii 2). as *bhamaro*, or *bhamarao*, for *bhramara*, 'a bee'[12]]

11 For this passage see App B

12 See App B I have added the ex. (omitted in Vararuchi) from the Prāk Saṃj The word *[? au]* appears to be corrupt *cf* the corresponding rules in Hemach and the Prāk Saṃj

VIDYUTPĪTĀBHYĀṂ LAḤ (26)

The affix *la* is used at the end of the words *vidyut*, 'lightning,' and *pīta*, 'yellow,' without altering their meaning: as, *vijjū* or *vijjulī*; *pīam* or *pīalam*.

[VṚINDE VO RAḤ] (27)

In the word *vṛnda*, 'a heap,' *r* is optionally used after the *v*, without altering its meaning: as, *vrandam* or *vandam*.

KAREṆVĀṂ RAṆOH STHITIPARIVṚTTIḤ (28)

In the word *kareṇu*, 'a female elephant,' the *r* and *ṇ* are transposed: as, kaṇerū. From the express mention of the feminine, we infer that the rule does not hold in the masculine: as, *kareṇū*, 'a male elephant.'

ĀLĀNE LANOḤ (29)

In the word *ālāna*, 'an elephant's post,' the *l* and *n* are transposed (of course, as before, without their vowels): as *āṇālakkhambo* for *ālānastambha* [*cf*. iii. 57].

VṚHASPATAU VAHORBHAAU (30)

In the word *vṛhaspati*, 'the regent of the planet Jupiter,' *bh* and *a* are respectively substituted for *v* and *h*: as, *bhaappha*ī [*cf*. iii. 36.]

MALINE LINORILAU VĀ (31)

In the word *malina*, 'dirty,' *i* and *l* are optionally substituted for *li* and *n* respectively: as, *maīlaṃ* or *maliṇaṃ*.

GṚHE GHARO'PATAU (32)

ghara is used in the sense of *gṛha*, 'a house,' except when it is followed by *pati*, 'a master:' as *gharam*, 'a house.' 'Why do we make this exception'? Because we have *gṛhapati*, 'a householder.'

DĀDHĀDAYO BAHULAṂ (33)

The class of words called *dāḍhā*, etc., are irregularly used instead of the class *daṃṣṭrā*, etc.: as,

dādhā, danstrā, 'a tooth', enhim, idanīm, 'now', dhīā[13] or dhūdā, duhitā, 'a daughter', chātuliam, chāturya, 'dexterity', mandūro, mandūro, mandūka, 'a frog', ghare nihitam [iv. 32], grhe nihitam, 'deposited in the house', kandotto,[14] utpala, 'a blue lotus', golā, godāvarı, 'the river Godāvarı', nidālam,[15] lalāta, 'the forehead', bhumaā, bhū, 'the earth', veluriam, vaidūrya, 'lapis lazuli', avahovāsam, ubhayapārśva, 'both sides', māındo *or* māando,[16] chūta, 'a mango tree'

The word *ādi* in the sūtra is used in the sense of 'similitude' or 'class', therefore all works of common speech may be considered as comprehended under this rule, which are used by convention in different provinces[17]

13 *dhīā* is a Sans word see Lex. *cf* also Hindust [illegible]

14 *Cf* Sans. *kandota*

15 *Cf* Sans *n [illegible]*

16 *Cf* Sans. *mākanda*

17 As might be expected the MSS differ very much [illegible] of the Prākṛt ex. of this [illegible] *cf* var lec.

SECTION THE FIFTH

ON DECLENSION

ATA OTSOH (1)

o is substituted for *su*, the affix of the nom. sing., after a word ending in *a*: as,

vachchho, vasaho, puriso.

vrksas, 'a tree', vrisabhas, 'a bull', purusas, 'a man.' [The *a* is considered to be elided by iv. 1 [1]]

JASSASORLOPAḤ (2)

jas and *śas*, the affixes of the nom. and acc plural are elided after words ending in a: ae *vachchhā sohanti* for *vriksāh śobhante*, 'The trees are beautiful.' Here the vowel *a* is lengthened by sūtra 11, and then the affix *jas* is elided *Vachchhe niachchhaha* for *vriksān niyachchhata*,[2] 'Bring the trees' Here the final *a* becomes *e* by sūt. 12, and then the affix *śas* is elided

ATO'MAḤ[3] (3)

The *a* of *am*, the affix of the accusative singular, is elided after words ending in *a*. as, *vachchham pekkhaī*, for *vriksam preksate*, 'He sees a tree.' For the anusvāra, see iv 12

TĀMORṆAḤ (4)

After words ending in a, na is substituted for tā and ām, the affixes of the instrumental singular, and the genitive

1 So the Prāk Sanj, *cf* the addition in D noticed in the Var Lect

2 Such is the interpr. of the MSS., but *cf* viii. 69, *infra*

3 The sign ṣ is accidentally omitted in the sūtra as printed in the text.

plural: as, *vachchheṇa, vachchhāṇa*,[4] for *vṛikṣeṇa*, 'by a tree,' *vṛikṣāṇām*, 'of trees.' The *e* of the former word is caused by sūt. 12; the long vowel of the latter by sūt. 11.

BHISO HIṂ (5)

hiṃ is substituted for *bhis*, the affix of the instrumental plural, after words ending in *a*: as *vachchhehiṃ* for *vṛikṣais*, 'by trees'. For the insertion of *e*, see sūt. 12.

NASERĀDODUHAYAḤ (6)

After words ending in *a*, *ā do du hi* are severally substituted for *ṅasi*, the affix of the ablative sing.: as, *vachchhā, vachchhādo, vachchhādu, vachchhāhi*. For the long vowel of the penultimate in the last three forms, see sūt. 11; and for the first form, see sūt. 13.

BHYASO HINTO SUNTO (7)

After words ending in *a*, *hinto* and *sunto* are substituted for *bhyas*, the affix of the ablative plural: as, *vachchhāhinto, vachchhāsunto*. For the long vowel of the antepenult., the commentary refers us to the *cha*, or 'and', in sūt. 12.[5]

SSO ṄASAḤ (8)

After words ending in *a*, *ssa* is substituted for *ṅas*, the affix of the genitive sing.: as, *vachchhassa*.

4 The MSS write *vachchhāna, vachchhānam* indifferently, the final anusvāra in these and similar forms being considered optional by iv 16

5 Bhāmaha does not recognise the forms with *e*, as *vachchhehinto, vachchhesunto*, but it seems plain from this very artifice of the *cha*, that such forms are correct, *cf. infra*, notes v 12, vi 62, and Lass., p 310. Hema-chandra expressly gives a sūt., '*bhyasi vā*', with comm. '*bhyasādese pare ato dīrgho vā bhavati, vachchhāhinto, vachchhehinto*,' etc., and so does the Prāk. Sarvasva. For the difference of meaning between the two forms, see Lass p 310, '*hinto* caussam significat, a qua procedit effectus, *sunto* indicat unde proficiscaris.'

ṄEREMMĪ (9)

After words ending in *a*, *e* and *mmi* are substituted for *ṅi*, the affix of the locative sing.; as, *Vachchhe*, *vachchhammi*. For the elision of the final *a* in *vechchhe*, we are referred to sūt. 13.

SUPAḤ SUḤ (10)

After words ending in *a*, *su* is substituted for *sup*, the affix of the loc. plural: as, *vachchhesu*. For the *e*, we are referred to sūt. 12.

JAŚŚASṄASYĀMSU DĪRGHAḤ (11)

For the final *a* of these nouns, *ā* is substituted before the affixes of the nom. and acc. plural, the ablative singular and the genitive plural: as, *vachchhā sohanti*, 'the trees are beautiful' [for the elision of *jas*, see sūt. 2];[6] *vachchhādo*, *vachchhadū*, *vachchhāhi* for *vṛkṣāt* [see sūt. 6]; *vachchhāṇa* for *vṛkṣāṇām* [see sūt. 4].

ECHA SUPYAṄIṄASOḤ (12)

e is substituted for this final *a*, before all the case-affixes except those of the loc. and gen. (*ṅi* and *ṅas*);[7] and from the *cha* in the rule we conclude that the long vowel also may be used; as *vachchhe pekkhaha*, 'behold the trees' [for the elision of *śas*, see sūt. 2]; *vachchhena* for *vṛikṣena* [see sūt. 4]; *vachchhehiṃ* [sūt. 5]; *vachchhesu* [sūt. 10]. But the long vowel also may be used: as, *vachchhāhinto*, *vachchhāsunto* [sūt. 7].

'Why do we except the affixes of the loc. and gen.

6 The Comm. gives no ex. of the acc plural. It should be *vachchhā*. The usual form is *vachchhe*; *cf*. S. 12.

7 All the grammarians agree that *sup* is here the *pratyāhāra* of all the case-affixes (formed from *su*, the first aff., and the *p* of *sup*, the last), and the Prāk. Sañj. and Prāk. Sarvasva refer hither *vachchhehinto*, etc.; *cf*. S. 7, note.

sing'? Because in *vachchhammi* [sūt. 9] and *vachchhassa* [sūt. 8], the short vowel is retained.

KVACHIDṄASIṄYORLOPAḤ (13)

When *ṅasi* and *ṅi*, the affixes of the abl. and loc. sing., follow, in certain cases the final *a* of the noun is elided: as, *vachchhā* [sūt. 6], *vachchhe* [sūt. 9], (that is, in this form of the abl. we elide the final *a* of *vachchha* to avoid the necessity of lengthening it by sūt. 11; and similarly in this form of the loc. we elide it to avoid such a word as *vachchhae*. In *vachchhādo*, etc., and *vachchhammi* we see the opposite; *cf.* also vi 61)

IDUTOḤ ŚASO ṆO (14)

In nouns ending in *i* and *u*, *ṇo* is substituted for *śas*, the affix of the acc. plural: as, *aggiṇo*, *vāuṇo*, for *agnīn*, 'fires', *vāyūn*, 'winds'.

ṄASO VĀ (15)

In nouns ending in *i* and *u*, *ṇo* is optionally substituted for *ṅas*, the affix of the gen. sing.: as, *aggiṇo* or *aggissa*, *vāuṇo* or *vāussa* (for *ssa*, see sūt. 8).

JASAŚCHA O YŪTVAM (16)

In these nouns, *o* is substituted for *jas*, the affix of the nom. plur., and ī and ū[8] for the final *i* and *u*. From the use of the *cha* in the sūtra we infer that *ṇo* is also used as well as *o* as *aggīo*, *vāūo*, or *aggiṇo*, *vāuṇo*.

ṬĀ ṆĀ (17)

In these nouns *ṇā* is substituted for *ṭā*, the affix of the instrumental sing: as, *aggiṇā*, *vāuṇā*

8 The *vā* in the Comm., which is added in the margin in some MSS to the sūt. must only mean here *vyavasthitavibhāṣā* [*cf* iii 61], *i.e.*, when *o* is used, ī and ū must precede it, but not in the case of *ṇo*. *cf* Lass p 307

SUBHISSUPSU DĪRGHAḤ (18)

When *su*, *bhis*, and *sup*, the affixes of the nom. sing., instr. plur., and loc. plur. follow, the final *i* or *u* of these nouns is exchanged for its long vowel: as, *aggī*, *vaū*, *aggībhiṁ vāūhiṁ*, *aggīsu*, *vaūsu*.

STRIYĀM ŚASA UDOTAU (19)

In feminine nouns, *u* and *o* are substituted for *śas*, the affix of the acc plural: as,

mālāü, mālāo, naīu, naīo, vahūu, vahūo.

mālāḥ, 'garlands', nadīḥ, 'rivers', vadhūḥ, 'wives.'

[JASO VĀ] (20)

In feminine nouns, *u* and *o* are optionally substituted for *jas*, the affix of the nom. plural, in the alternative these follow the rule of nouns in *a*: as *mālāo*, *malāū*, and also *mālā* (by s. 2)[9]

AMI HRASVAḤ (21)

In feminine nouns the final long vowel is shortened before *am*, the affix of the acc. sing as,

Mālam, naīm, vahum.

TĀNASNĪNĀMIDEDADĀTAḤ (22)

In feminine nouns, *i*, *e*, *a*, *ā* are substitued for *tā*, *nas*, *ni*, the affixes of the instr., gen and loc. sing.: as,

naīi, naīe, naīa naīā, any one of which four forms represents 'by,' 'of' or 'in' 'a river.'

NĀTO 'DĀTAU (23)

In the case of feminine nouns ending in *ā*, two of the above substitutions *a* and *ā* do not take place, that is, the legitimate influence of the preceding sūtra is here prohibited: as,

mālāi, mālāe (not mālāa, mālāā,) 'by,' 'of,' *or* 'in' 'a garland.'

9 For *mālā*, *cf* Lass, p 307, note 2, and Boehtl Bak, p 150 on *daamānā* (Williams' ed p 6, *cf* also p 165, 3)

ĀDITAŪ BAHULAṂ (24)

In feminine words ending in *ā*, *ā* and *ī* are irregularly interchanged as the final letter: as,

sahamāṇā, sahamāṇī; haladdā, haladdī; suppaṇahā, suppaṇahī; chhāhā, chhāhī.

Sahamānā, 'enduring'; haridrā, 'turmeric' [i. 13]; Sūrpanakhā, 'Rāvaṇa's sister'; chhāyā, 'shade' [ii. 18].[10]

NA NAPUNSAKE (25)

The final vowel is not lengthened in the nominative sing. of a neuter noun (in nouns ending in *a* there is no rule which would enjoin it; but those ending in *i* and *u*, but for this prohibition, might have come within the range of sūt. 18): as,

dahim, mahum, havim.

dadhi, 'curdled milk'; madhu, 'honey'; havis, 'ghee'

IJJASŚASORDĪRGAŚCHA (26)

In neuter nouns, *i* is substituted for *jas* and *śas*, the affixes of the nom. and acc. plural, and the preceding vowel is lengthened: as,

vaṇāi, dahīi, mahūi.[11]

NĀMANTRAṆE SĀVOTVADIRGHAVINDAVAḤ (27)

When the nom. sing. is used in the vocative (this being considered by Sanskrit grammarians as only a modification of the nominative), neither the *o* of sūt. 1, nor the long

10 The Prāk. Sanjīv. explains this sūt. thus: '*strīlinge vartamānāt prātipadikād ā ī ityetau pratyekam bhavataḥ*; *kāī kīī* (*kayā, kasyāh, kasyām vā*); *jāī, jīī* (*yayā, yasyāh, yasyām vā*); etc. The MS. D has these ex. as genitives (*cf.* Var. Lect.) added to those given by the other MSS. For *kīī*, etc., *cf.* vi. 6. This explanation is much more probable than Bhāmaha's.

11 The more common forms are *vaṇāim*, etc., the nasal being added by iv. 16.

vowel of sūt. 18, nor the anusvāra of sūt. 30, are allowed: as,

he vachchha, 'O tree', he aggi, 'O fire', he vāu, 'O wind', he vana,[12] 'O forest', he dahi, 'O curdled milk', he mahu, 'O honey.'

STRIYAMĀTA ET (28)

In the vocative of feminine nouns, *e* is substituted for *ā* before the affix *su*: as, he māle, 'O garland.' The Commentator adds that *su* is elided by iv. 6, which enjoins the elision of every final consonant (the indicatory vowel of *su* is dropped by Panini, 1. 3, 2, and therefore the *s* of *māles* comes under iv. 6).

IDŪTOR HRASVAḤ (29)

A final *ī* or *ū* is shortened in the vocative: as,

he nai, 'O river', he vahu, 'O wife'

SORVINDURNAPUNSAKE (30)

In neuter nouns, anusvāra is substitued for the affix of the nom sing. as,

vanam, dahim, mahum

RITA ĀRAḤ SUPI (31)

In words ending in *r*, *āra* is substituted for *r*, before all case-affixes (the *pratyahāra sup*), as,

bhattāro, 'a husband', bhattārena, 'by a husband,' etc.

MĀTURĀT (32)

Ā is substituted for the *r* of *mātri*, 'a mother,' and the word is then declined like other feminines in *ā*: as,

māā, māam, māāe [sūt. 23].

UR JASSASTĀNASSUPSU VĀ (33)

u is optionally substituted for a final *r*, before the affixes

12 *Cf.* Pāṇ., vi 1, 69, and Boehtl Comm.

of the nom. and acc. plural, the instr. and gen. singular, and the loc. plural, (that is, in these cases, words ending in *ṛ* become subject to the same rules as those ending originally in *u*): as,

bhattuṇo [*s. 14 and 16*], bhattuṇā [*s. 17*], bhattuṇo [s. 15], and bhattūsu [s. 18].

The forms with *āra* substituted for *ṛ* [by s. 31] are also used: as,

bhattārā, bhattāre, bhattāreṇa, etc.

PITṚBHRĀTṚJĀMĀTṚṆĀMARAḤ (34)

In the words *pitṛ*, 'a father', *bhrātṛ*, 'a brother,' *jāmātṛ* 'a son-in-law,' *ara* is substituted for *ṛ*, before the case-affixes (*āra* is therefore forbidden): as,

piaram, piareṇa; bhāaraṃ, bhāareṇa, jāmāaraṃ, jāmāareṇa.

ĀCHA SAU (35)

In these words (*pitṛ*, etc.) *ā* is substituted for *ṛ*, before *su*, the affix of the nom. sing.; and from the *cha* in the sūtra we infer that *ara* is also used: as,

piā, piaro; bhāā, bhāaro, jāmāā, jāmāaro[13]

ĀTMANO 'PPĀṆO VĀ (45)

appāṇa is optionally substituted for the word *ātman*. 'self': *as*,

appāṇo, appā. [For the latter form, see III. 48].

13 The long list of sūtras on *rājan* which are inserted here in three MSS are omitted in the translation, as there can be little doubt that they formed no part of the original text of Vararuchi. They are found in the Sankṣh Sāra (*cf* Lass. p 315, note) and the Prāk. Sanj., but their diffuse phraseology is very different to Vararuchi's usual style

BRAHMĀDYĀ ĀTMAVAT (47)

The words *brahma*, etc., are properly declined like *ātman*: as,

vamhā, vamhāṇo, juvā, juvāṇo; addhā, addhāṇo.

Brahman, 'Brahmā', yuvan, 'a youth'; adhvan, 'a path.' Other similar instances are to be determined in conformity with the examples given.[14]

14 For some further rules on Declension: see vi. 60-64.

SECTION THE SIXTH

ON PRONOUNS, ETC

SARVĀDERJASA ETVAM (1)

jas, the affix of the nom. plural, becomes *e* when it follows the class of words called *sarvādi* as,

savve, je, te, ke, kadare.

sarve, 'all', ye, 'who' te, 'they', ke, 'who?', katare, 'which of two'.[1]

NEH SSIMMMITTHĀH (2)

ssim, *mmi*, *ttha* are substituted for *ni*, the affix of the loc. sing., when following a pronoun as,

savvassim, savvammi, savvattha, iarassim, iarammi, iarattha.

sarvasmin, 'in all', itarasmin, 'in another'.[2]

IDAMETATKIMYATTADBHYASTĀ INĀ VĀ (3)

inā is optionally substituted for *tā*, the affix of the instr. sing., after *idam*, 'this', *etat*, 'this', *kim*, 'what?' *yat*, 'what', *tat*, 'that': as,

iminā, edinā, kinā, jinā, tinā, *or*, imena, edena, kena, jena, tena.

ĀMA ESIM (4)

esim is optionally substituted for *am*, the affix of the gen. plur., after the above words *idam*, etc. as,

imesim *or* imāna edesim *or* edāna, kesim *or* kāna, jesim *or* jāna, tesim *or* tāna.[3]

1 Vararuchi in this short sketch of pronouns, confines himself to their peculiar inflexions and for the most part assumes the rules of Sect v

2 *imassim* (*cf* sūt 15) is used as loc. fem in Sak [Will p. 36, 2].

3 *esim* is used in the fem as well as the masc, *cf* Hema-ch.

KIMYATTADBHYO ṄASA ĀSAḤ (5)

āsa is optionally substituted for *ṅas*, the affix of the gen sing., after the pronouns *kim*, *yat*, *tat*: as,

kāsa *or* kassa, jāsa *or* jassa, tāsa *or* tassa.

IDBHYAḤ SSĀ SE (6)

ssā and *se* are substituted for *ṅas*, after the above pronouns, when they are declined like nouns ending in *i* (*i.e.*, from feminine roots of the form *ki*, *ji*, *ti*). as,

kissā, kīse, kīā, kīe, kīa, kīi. 'of what woman?', jissā, jīse, jīā, jīe, jīa, jīi, 'of what woman', tissā, tīse, tīā, tīe, tīa tīi, 'of that woman' [4] [For the other forms given, see v 22].

ṄERHIM (7)

him is optionally substituted for *ṅi* (the affix of the loc. sing.) after *kim*, *yat*, *tat*. as,

kahim, kassim, kammi, kattha [*cf.* v. 2]; jahim, jassim, jammi, jattha, tahim, tassim, tammi, tattha.

ĀHE IĀ KĀLE (8)

Instead of *ṅi* in the sense of time [*cf.* Pān, v. 3, 15], *āhe* and *iā* are optionally substituted after the above pronouns as,

kahe, jāhe, tahe, kaia jaia, taiā, and also the forms (in vi 7) kahim, etc.

kadā, 'when', yadā, 'since', tadā 'then'.

TTO DO ṄASEḤ (9)

Instead of *ṅasi*, the affix of the abl sing, *tto* and *do* are substituted after the above pronouns. as,

katto, kado, jatto jado, tatto, tado

4 These refer to the feminine gen sing, and correspond to the Sans *kasyāh*, etc See, Lass, p 322, and the Sanksh Sāra quoted there It is singular that W adds *striyām* in the Sūtra

kasmāt, from what?', yasmāt, 'from which'; tasmāt, 'from that'.

TADA OŚCHA (10)

Instead of *nasi*, after the pronoun *tat*, *o* is optionally substituted: as, *to*, as well as *tatto* and *tado* (the final *t* is dropped by IV. 6, and the *a* is elided before *o* by IV. 1).

ṄASĀ SE (11)

The option allowed in the preceding sūtra still continues. *se* is optionally substituted for the pronoun *tat*, together with *nas*, the affix of the gen. sing., in the alternative, it follows previous rules as, *se*, *tāsa*, and *tassa* [VI. 5].[5]

ĀMĀ SIM (12)

sim is optionally substituted for the pronoun *tat*, together with *am*, the affix of the gen. plur.: thus, instead of *tesām* and *tāsām*, we have *sim* or *tāṇa*, and also (by VI. 4) *tesim*.

KIMAḤ KAḤ (13)

ka is substituted for the pronoun *kim*, when followed by the affixes of declension: as, nom. sing., *ko*, nom. plur., *ke*, instr. sing. *kena*, instr. plur., *kehim*.

IDAMA IMAḤ (14)

Similarly *ima* is substituted for the pronoun *idam*: as, *imo*, *ime*, *imena*, *imehim*

SSASSIMORADVĀ (15)

a is optionally substituted for *idam*, 'this', when followed by *ssa* and *ssim*, the Prakrit affixes of the gen

5 *se* is used in the three genders. Hema ch joins sūtras 11, 12 in one as follows "vedamtadetado naśambhyām sesimau—idam tad etad ityeteṣām sthāne nasāmbhyām saha yathāsankhyam se sim ityādeśau vā bhavataḥ," with examples, *se*, asya, tasya, tasyāḥ, etc., *sim*, eshām, teshām, tāsām, etc

and loc. sing. [v. 8, vi. 2]: as, *assa* or *imassa*, *assim* or *imessim*.

ṄERDENA HAḤ (16)

ha is optionally substituted for *ni*, the loc. sing. affix, together with the *da* in *idam*. as, *iha* In the case of its not being so substituted we have (by previous rules), *assim*, *imassim*, *imammi*.

NA TTHAḤ (17)

The form *ttha* is not used as a substitute for *ni*, when it follows *idam*, and thus sūt. 2 is so far restricted from applying to his pronoun.

NAPUNSAKE SVAMORIDAMIṆAMIṆAMO (18)

Instead of *idam* in the neuter gender, together with *su* and *am*, the affixes of the nom. and acc. sing., we have the three forms, *idam*, *inam*, and *inamo*.[6]

ETADAḤ SĀVOTVAM VĀ (19)

When the pronoun *etad* is followed by the nom. sing. affix *su*, the substitution of *o* for *su* (which by v. 1 is universal) is optional. as, *esa* or *eso*, for *esa*, 'this.'

TTO NASEḤ (20)

Instead of *nasi*, the affix of the abl. sing., when it follows *etad*, *tto* is substituted, the *ta* being elided by sūt. 21: as,

etto. (We have also the regular forms edādo, edādu, edāhi.)

etasmāt, 'from this'.

TTOTTHAYOSTALOPAḤ (21)

When the affixes *tto* [s. 20], and *ttha* [s. 2] follow, the *ta* of *etad* is dropped: as,

6 Hema-ch also gives *inamo*.

etto, 'from this', ettha, 'in this' (the final *d* having been dropped by iv. 6].

TADETADOḤ SAḤ SĀVANAPUNSAKE (22)

s is substituted for the *t* of *tad* and *etad* in the masc. and fem., before *su*, the affix of the nom. sing.. as,

so puriso, 'this man', sā mahilā, 'this woman', similarly *esa* [s. 19], *eso*, *esā*.

'Why do we specify *su*?' Because it does not hold in the nom. plur, *ede*, *te*, , or the acc. sing. *edam*, *tam*. 'Why do we exclude the neuter?' Because we say *tam*, *edam*, for *tad*, *etad* in the neuter nom. sing.

ADASO DO MUḤ (23)

mu is substituted for the *da* of the pronoun *adas*, before the case affixes (the final *s* being already dropped by iv. 6), and the word is then declined like a noun ending in *u*. as,

amū puriso, 'that man', amū mahilā, 'that woman', amūo purisā, 'these men', amūo mahilāo, 'these women', amum vanam, 'this forest', amūim vanāim, 'these forests.'

HASCHA SAU (24)

ha also is substituted for the *da* af *adas*, before the affix of the nom. sing. : as,

aha puriso, aha mahilā, aha vanam

This *ha* does not admit *o*, *ā* or anusvāra, and therefore remains the same in the three genders.

PADASYA (25)

This sūtra will exercise *adhikāra* [*cf*. i. 1]. The various rules which we shall go through in order, are to be understood as supplying substitutes for a *pada*, or word ending with a case-affix, that is, they will not supply substitutes for the case-affixes themselves, nor for a part of the base to which these may be added, but they are to supply substitutes for the whole word, base and affix together.

The *adhikāra* of this sūtra will extend until a *śabda* is enjoined (or crude form in contradistinction to a *padā*) which we shall certify, when it occurs

YUSMADASTAM TUMAM (26)

The affix *su* is repeated from s. 24. *tam* and *tumam* are substituted for the pada *yusmad*, 'you', when followed by *su*, the affix of the nom sing.[7] as *tam*, *tumam*, 'you.'

TUMCHĀMI (27)

For the pada *yusmad*, when followed by *am*, the affix of the acc sing., *tum* is optionally substituted, and, from the use of *cha* in the sūtra, we conclude that *tumam* also may be used. as, *tum*, *tumam*, 'thee'.

TUJJHE TUMHE JASI (28)

For the pada *yusmad*, followed by *jas*, the affix of the nom. plur., *tujjhe* and *tumhe* are substituted: as, *tujjhe*, *tumhe*, 'ye'.

VOCHA SASI (29)

For the pada *yusmad* followed by *śas*, the affix of the acc plur., *vo* is substituted, and from the *cha* of the sūtra we conclude that *tujjhe* and *tumhe* may also be used. as, *vo*, *tujjhe*, *tumhe*, 'you'.

TĀNYOS TAI TAE TUMAE TUME (30)

For the pada *yusmad* followed by *tā* and *ni*, the affixes of the instr. and loc sing, *tai*, *tae*, *tumae* and *tume* are substituted as, *tai tae*, *tumae*, *tume*, 'by thee,' or 'in thee'.

NASI TUMOTUHATUJJHATUMHATUMMAH (31)

For the pada *yusmad* followed by *nas*, the affix of the gen sing, the following are substituted. *tumo*, *tuha*, *tujjha*, *tumha*, *tumma*, 'of thee'.

ĀMI CHA TE DE (32)

For the pada *yusmad*, followed by *ān*, the affix of the

7 This is the affix of the instr. sing in the terminology of the eastern

instr. sing., and also by *ṅas*, the affix of the gen. sing. (which we infer from the use of *cha* in the sūtra), *te* and *de* are substituted: as, *te*, *de*, 'by thee,' and 'of thee'.

TUMĀI CHA (33)

For the pada *yuṣmad* followed by *ān*, the affix of the instr. sing., *tumāi* also is substituted: as, *tumāi*, 'by thee'.

TUJJHEHIṂ TVMHEHIṂ TUMMEHIṂ BHISI (34)

For the pada *yuṣmad* followed by *bhis*, the affix of the instr. plur., these are substituted: *tujjhehiṃ*, *tumhehiṃ*, *tummehiṃ*, 'by you'.

ṄASAO TATTO TAÏTTO TUMĀDO TUMĀDU TVMĀHI (35)

For the pada *yuṣmad*, followed by *ṅasi*, the affix of the abl. sing, *tatto*, etc., are substituted: as, *tatto*, *taïtto*, *tumādo*, *tumādu*, *tumāhi*, 'from thee'.

TUMHĀHINTO TUMHĀSUNTO BHYASI (36)

For the pada *yusmad* followed by *bhyas*, the affix of the abl. plur., *tumhāhinto* and *tumhāsunto* are substituted: as, *tumhāhinto*, *tumhāsunto*, 'from you'.

VO BHE TUJJHĀṆAM TUMHĀṆAMĀMI (37)

For the pada *yusmad* followed by *ām*, the affix of the gen. plur., *vo*, etc. are substituted, as, *vo*, *bhe*, *tujjhā-nam*, *tumhānam*, 'of you'.

ṄAÜ TUMAMMI (38)

For the pada *yusmad* followed by *ṅi*, the affix of the loc. sing., *tumammi* is substituted. as, *Tumammi*, 'in thee.' By sūt. 30, we have also the four forms, *taï*, *tae*, *tumae*, *tume*.

(*prāchya*) school of Hindū Grammarians see Boehtl Pāṇini, Introd p xii.

TUJJHESU TUMHESU SUPI (39)

For the pada *yuṣmad* followed by *sup*, the affix of the loc. plur., *tujjhesu* and *tumhesu* are substituted: as, *tujjhesu*, *tumhesu*, 'in you.'

ASMADO HAMAHAAM SAŪ (40)

For the pada *asmad*, 'I', followed by the affix *su*, *haṃ*, *ahaṃ*, *ahaaṃ* are substituted, as, *haṃ*, *ahaṃ*, *ahaaṃ*, 'I.'

AHAMMIRAMICHA (41)

For the pada *asmad* followed by the affix *aṃ*, *ahammi* is substituted, and from the *cha* of the sūtra we infer that it may also be similarly substituted for the nom.: as, *ahammi*, 'I,' *or* 'me.'

MAṂ MAMAṂ (42)

am is repeated from sūt. 41. For the pada *asmad*, followed by the affix *aṃ*, *maṃ* and *mamaṃ* are substituted: as, *maṃ*, *mamaṃ*, 'me.'

AMHE JASŚASOḤ (43)

For the pada *asmad*, followed by the affixes *jas* and *śas*, *amhe* is substituted: as, *amhe*, 'we,' *or* 'us.'

ṆO ŚASI (44)

For the pada *asmad* followed by the affix *śas*, *ṇo*[8] is substituted: as, *ṇo*, 'us.'

ĀṄI ME MAMAI (45)

For the pada *asmad* followed by the affix *āṅ* [*cf.* sūt. 32], *me* and *mamāi* are substituted: as, *me*, *mamāi*, 'by me.'

8 The MSS [*cf.* Var. Lect.] generally read *ne*, but as they all have, *ṇo*, in S 29, it is probably an error; at the same time it would be well for future editors of the plays to mark whether *ne* occurs in the MSS All the MSS. of Vararuchi give no in the gen. plur. (if my emendation of vi. 51 be correct), but it is singular that Hema-ch there gives both *ṇe* and *ṇo*.

ṆAU CHA MAĪ MAE (46)

For the pada *asmad* followed by the affix *ṅi*, *maī* and *mae* are substituted (and also when followed by the affix *āṅ*, as we infer from the use of *cha* in the sūtra): as, *maī mae*, 'in me,' *or* 'by me.'

AMHEHIM BHISI (47)

For the pada *asmad* followed by the affix *bhis*, *amhehiṃ* is substituted: as, *amhehiṃ*, 'by us.'

MATTO MAĪTTO MAMĀDO MAMĀDU MAMĀHI ṄASAU (48)

For the pada *asmad* followed by the affix *ṅasi*, *matto*, etc. are substituted: as, *matto*, *maītto*, *mamādu*, *mamāhi*, 'from me.'

AMHĀHINTO AMHĀSUṄTO BHYASI (49)

For the pada *asmad* followed by the affix *bhyas*, *amhāhinto* and *amhāsunto* are substituted: as, *amhāhinto*, *amhāsunto*, 'from us.'

ME MAMA MAHA MAJJHA ṄASI (50)

For the pada *asmad* followed by the affix *ṅas*, *me*, etc. are substituted: as, *me*, *mama*, *maha*, *majjha*, 'of me.'

MAJJHA ṆO AMHA AMHĀṆAṂ AMHE ĀMI (51)

For the pada *asmad*, followed by the affix *āṃ*, *majjha*, etc. are substituted: as, *majjha*,[9] *no*, *amha*, *amhāṇaṃ*, *amhe*, 'of us.'

MAMAMMI ṄAU (52)

For the pada *asmad* followed by the affix *ṅi*, *mamammi* is substitued: as, *mamammi*, 'in me.' From sūtra 46 we have also the forms, *maī*, *mae*.

9 *Cf.* Var. Lect. Hema-chandra's sūt. is, "ṇe ṇo majjha amha amham amhe amho amhāna mamāna mahāna majjhāna *āmā*" *amha* occurs in Dr. Trithen's ed. of the Mahāviracharitra p. 28, 12

AMHESU SUPI (53)

For the pada *asmad* followed ky the affix *sup*, *amhesu* is substituted: as, *amhesu*, 'in us.'

DVERDO (54)

The adhikāra of *pada* ends here [*cf.* s. 25]. *sup* must be repeated from the last sūt., but in the sense of the *pratyāhara* [see v. 12, note], and not as merely confined to the loc. plur.

For the word *dvi*, 'two,' *do* is substituted before the case affixes as, *dohim*, 'by two,' *dosu*, 'in two.'

TRES TIḤ (55)

For the word *tr*, 'three,' before the case-affixes, *ti* is substituted (and the word is then declined like nouns ending in *i*). as, *tihim* 'by three', *tīsu* 'in three.'[10]

TIṆṆI JASSASBHYĀM (56)

For the word *tr*, together with the case-affixes *jas* and *śas*, *tinni* is substituted: as, *tinni āgadā* 'three are come'; *tinni pekkha*, 'behold three.'

DVERDUVE DOṆI VĀ (57)

For the ward *dvi*, together with the case affixes *jas* and *śas*, *duve* and *doni* are substituted. as, *duve*, *doni*, 'two'; we have also the option of using the form *do* [s. 54].

CHATURASCHATTĀRO CHATTĀRI (58)

For the word *chatur*, together with the affixes *jas* and *śas*, *chattāro* and *chattāri* are substituted: as, *chattaro chattāri purisā*, 'four men', *chattāro chattāri pekkha*, 'behold four'

ESAMAMO ṆHAM (59)

Instead of *ām*, as the gen. plur. affix of these words *dvi*,

10 *Cf* Var Lect. The i seems absolutely required by v 18 and vi. 60

tr, chatur, we have the form *nham*. as, *donham*, 'of two', *tinham* 'of three' *chatunham*,[11] 'of four.'

SESO 'DANTAVAT (60)

The rest of the rules for declension are the same as those for words ending in *a* Thus the sūtra *bhiso him*, which has been given for words ending in *a* [*cf*. v. 5] applies equally to words ending in *i* and *u*, thus we have *aggīhim*, *vāūhim* from *aggi* and *vāū*, and similarly for feminine words ending in *ā*, *ī*, and *ū* as *mālahim*, *naihim*, *vahūhim* [v. 19]. In the same way we have *aggissa*, *vaussa* as the gen. sing., and *aggido*, *vaūdo*, etc., for the abl. sing., and similarly *dohim*, *tihim* [vi. 54, 55], *chauhim*.

NA NINASYOREDĀTAU (61)

e and *ā* are not used as the substitutes of the affixes *ni* and *nasi* [*cf* v. 6 and v. 9] in the case of nouns ending in *i* and *u* as, *aggimmi*, 'in the fire', *vāummi*, 'in the wind', *aggido*, *aggidu*, *aggīhi*, 'from the fire', *vaudo*, *vāūdu*, *vāūhi*, 'from the wind.'

E BHYASI (62)

The negative is repeated from the previous sūtra. *E*[12] is not substituted for the final letter of nouns ending in *i* or *u*, when *bhyas* follows as, *aggihinto*, *aggisunto*, 'from the fires', *vaūhinto*, *vausunto*, 'from the winds.'

DVIVACHANASYA BAHUVACHANAM (63)

In all affixes, whether for the cases of nouns or the persons of verbs, we must use the plural instead of the dual,

11 Or rather, *cha inham*, the reading of one MS

12 *Cf* Var Lect *E* and not *ā* seems the true reading because in fact the form with *ā* is only evolved from the sūtra v 12 by the aid of the *cha* [*cf* v 7, note], the original forms being no doubt *vachchhehinto*, etc This being not observed by the copyists has occasioned the Var. Lect. *ā*

thus we must say, *vachchhā*, 'two trees'; *vachchhahim*, 'by two trees', etc.; and similarly for verbs; as, *chiṭṭhanti* 'they two stand.'

CHATURTHYĀḤ ṢAṢṬHI (64)

Instead of the affix of the dative case, we must use that of the genitive; thus, *vambaṇassa dehi*, *vambaṇāṇa dehi*, 'give to the Brāhmaṇ'; or 'to the Brāhmaṇs.'

SECTION THE SEVENTH

ON CONJUGATION

TATIPORIDETAŪ (1)

For *ta* and *tip* (the affixes of the 1st person[1] in the *ātmane* and *parasmai pada*), *i* and *e* are mutually substituted: *as*,

padhaī, padhae *for* pathati, pathate, 'he recites,'

THĀSSIPOḤ SI SE (2)

For *thās* and *sip* (the affixes of the 2nd person sing. in the *atm.* and *par. pada*), *si* and *se*[2] are mutually substituted: as,

padhasi, padhase *for* pathasi, pathase.

ITMIPORMIḤ (3)

For *it* and *mip* (the affixes of the 3rd *person sing in* the *atm.* and *par. pada*) *mi* is substituted, and thus *padhāmi* represents both the Sans. *pathāmi* and *pathe.*

NTIHETTHĀMOMUMĀ BAHUSU (4)

For the conjugational affixes in the plural, *nti, ha, ittha mo, mu, ma* are severally substituted. as,

(1) padhanti, (2) padhaha, padhitthā, (3) padhāmo, padhamu, padhama.

ATA E SE (5)

This rule limits what would otherwise be of constant application. The *e* and *se* which are substituted by *sūtras 1* and *2* are only substituted when they follow *a,* and not

1 The reader will bear in mind that the Hindū Grammarians follow an inverse ord·r to ours in arranging the *persons,* their first person being our third, etc

2 The apparent confusion in sūtras 1, 2, (as *si* properly=*sip,* not *thās,* etc.) seems intended to prepare us for sūt 5

otherwise; thus we have *ramae*, 'he rejoices,' *padhae*, 'he recites', *ramase*, 'thou rejoicest,' *padhase*, 'thou recitest'; but not *boe* or *bose* [*bo* being the Prākrt for *bhū* by VIII. 1] but only *boi*, 'he is', *bosi*, 'thou art.'

ASTERLOPAḤ (6)

The root *as*, 'to be,' is elided when the substitutes [VII. 2] for the affixes *thās* and *sip* follow: as,

sutto si *for* supto'si, 'thou art asleep.'

MIMOMUMĀNĀMADHO HASCHA (7)

h is to be used immediately after the *m* in the affixes *mi*, *mo*, *mu*, *ma*, when they follow the root *as*, the elision of which still continues to be enjoined from the preceding sūtra. as,

gao mhi, gaa mho, gaa mhu, gaa mha *for* gato'smi, 'I am gone'; gatās smah, 'we are gone.'

YAKA IA-IJJAU (8)

For *yak* (the affix of the passive) *ia* and *ijja* are substituted (and the personal affixes subjoined to these): as,

padhīai, padhijjaī *for* pathyate, 'it is recited.'

NĀNTYADVITVE (9)

These substitutions for *yak* do not take place, when the final consonant of the root is doubled: as,

hassai, gammaī *for* hasyate, 'it is laughed,' gamyate, 'it is gone.' By VIII. 58, this doubling of the final is optional in the verbs *gama*, etc.; therefore when the final is not doubled, sut 8 remains in force, and thus we have *gamīaī*, *gamijjaī*.

NTAMĀṆAU SATRI SĀNACHOḤ (10)

For the participial affixes *śatri* and *śānach*, *nta* and *māna* are mutually substituted: as,

padhanto, padhamāno, 'reciting.'

ĪCHA STRIYĀM (11)

ī is substituted (as well as the regular forms from *nta* and *māna*), for *śatṛ* and *śānach*, when used in the feminine as,

hasaī, hasantī, hasamāṇā, 'smiling' (a woman), vevaī, vevantī, vevamāṇā, 'trembling'

DHĀTORBHAVIṢYATI HIḤ (12)

The syllable *hi* is to be used after the root in the future (and the affixes of the present added to this) as,

hohii, 'he will be', hohinti, 'they will be', hasihii, 'he will laugh', hasihinti, 'they will laugh'.

UTTAME SSĀ HĀCHA (13)

In the 3rd person [*cf.* note sūt 1] of the future we are to use after the root *ssā* and *hā*, and also *hi* (as we infer from the *cha* in the sūtra): as,

hossāmi, hohāmi, hohimi, 'I shall be', hossāmo, hohāmo, hohimo, 'we shall be'

MINĀ SSAM VĀ (14)

In the 3rd person sing. of the future, *ssam* may optionally be used after the root, superseding the personal affix *mi* as,

hossam, 'I shall be'. This being optional, we may also use the forms of the preceding sūtra.

[MOMUMAIRHISSĀHITTHĀ[3]] (15)

In the 3rd person plural of the future, *hissā* and *hitthā* may be optionally added after the root, instead of any substitute for a plural-affix, superseding *mo, mu, or ma*: as,

hohissā, hohitthā, 'we shall be', hasihissā, hasihitthā, 'we shall laugh' As this is optional, we may also use the previous forms[4]

3 sūtras 15—22 are only found in part of the MSS, but Hema-ch, and the Prāk Sanj give them and as several of them are of some value I add Hema-chandra's corresponding rules

4 Hema ch, 165, *momumānām hissā hitthā*, and 166, *meh ssam*

[KṚ-DĀ-SRU-VACHI-GAMI-RUDI-DṚSI-VIDI-RŪPĀṆĀM KĀHAṂ DĀHAṂ SOCHCHHAṂ VOCHCHHAṂ GACHCHHAṂ ROCHCHHAṂ DACHCHHAṂ VECHCHHAṂ[5]] (16)

In the 3rd person sing. of the future, instead of the roots *kṛ*, etc., *kāham*, etc. are respectively substituted: as,

kāham, 'I will do'; dāhaṃ, 'I will give'; sochchhaṃ, 'I will hear'; vochchhaṃ, 'I will speak'; gachchhaṃ, 'I will go'; rochchhaṃ, 'I will weep'; dachchhaṃ, 'I will see'; vechchhaṃ, 'I will know,' etc.

[SRVĀDĪNĀṂ TRISVAPYANUŚVĀRAVARJAN HILOPASCHA VĀ[6]] (17)

sochchham, etc. (without the anusvāra) are substituted for *śru*, etc. in the future, even when the signs of the first, second, or third persons follow; the elision or insertion of *hi* (sūt. 12) is optional: as,

sochchhii, sochchhihii, 'hew ill hear'; sochchhinti, sochchhihinti, 'they will hear'; sochchhisi, sochchhihisi, 'thou wilt hear'; sochchhitthā, sochchhihitthā, 'ye will hear'; sochchhimi, sochchhihimi, 'I will hear'; sochchhimo, sochchhihimo, sochchhimu, sochchhihimu, sochchhima, sochchhihima, sochchhissāmo [sūt. 13], sochchissāmu, sochchhissāma, 'we will hear'. And similarly vochchha, etc.

[U-SU-MU VIDHYĀDIṢVEKASMIN[7]] (18)

u su mu are severally substituted for the proper singular

5 Hema ch., 167, *krido ham*, with ex. *kāhaṃ dāham*; then 168, *śru-gamu-rudi-vidi-dṛśi-muchi-vachi-chhidi-bhidi-bhujāṃ sochham gachham rochham vechham*, etc. The Sanskrit Grammarians frequently add an *i* to a verbal root, in order to decline it in their sūtras See Sect. viii, *passim*.

6 Hema ch. 169, *sochhādaya ijādiṣu* (explained in Comm by *bhaviṣyad-ādeśeṣu*), *hilukcha vā*.

7 Hema-ch. 170, *dusumu vidyādiṣvekasminstrayāṇām*, with the ex., *hasāmu aham*, etc.; the Comm. adds *du*, *dakārochchāraṇaṃ bhāṣāntar-*

affixes in the sense of command, etc. [*cf.* Pāṇini iii. 3, 161 and 162]: as,

hasaü, 'let him laugh'; hasasu, 'do thou laugh'; hasamu 'let me laugh.'

[NTU-HA-MO BAHUṢU[8]] (19)

ntu ha mo are severally substituted for the proper plural affixes in the sense of command, etc.: as,

hasantu, 'let them laugh'; hasaha, 'laugh ye'; hasāmo, 'let us laugh'.

[VARTAMĀNABHAVIṢYADANADYATANAYOR-JJAJJĀ VĀ[9]] (20)

jja and *jjā* are optionally substituted for the proper affixes of the present and the definite future, and also when command, etc. are implied; there being on option, the previous forms may be retained. Thus we have in the present *hojja*, *hojjā*, or *hoi*, 'he is' [*cf.* viii. 1]; *hasejja*, *hasejjā*, or *hasaï*, 'he laughs'; (and the same form applies to the three persons in both numbers;) in the future *hojja*, *hojjā*, or *hohii*, etc., 'he will be'; and similarly in the sense of the imperative.

[MADHYE CHA[10]] (21)

jja and *jjā* are also optionally inserted between the root

ārtham. S 171, *sor hir vā* is new, as is 172, *ata ijjasvijjahijjeluko vā*, with Comm., *akārātparasya sos sthāne 'ijjasu' 'ijjahi' 'ijje' ityete lukcha ādeśa vā bbavanti*

8 This is Hema-ch., 173.

9 Hema ch., 174, *vartamānābhaviṣyantyośchajjājja vā*. For Comm., *cf* text notes, Ch VII sut 20-23 *infra*, also *cf. ibid* for the other interpr. in the MSS, some of which understand by *vidhyādiṣu*, 'the imperative and other tenses,, Hema-ch *notices* the variation [*cf.* var. lect., p 65] but gives as above, which agrees with Pān., iii. 3. 161, 162.

10 Hema-ch 175, *Madhye cha svarāntād vā I. svarāntād dhātoh prakṛti-pratyayayor madhye, chakārāt pratyayānām cha sthāne, jja jjā vā bhavatah vartamānābhaviṣyantyor vidhyādiṣu cha I* The ex of the

and the affixes in the present, the definite future and the imperative: as,

(Present) hojjai, hojjāi; (future) hojjahii, hojjāhii; (imperative) hojjau, hojjāu.

[NĀNEKĀCHAḤ] (22)

jja and *jjā*, however, are not thus inserted between the root ends in a vowel (and is therefore monosyllabic [*ekāch*], since a root which ends in a consonant becomes dissyllabic by the addition of the anubandha): as,

hasaï *from* hasa, 'to smile'; tuvaraï *from* tvara, 'to hasten.' But this does not preclude their being employed as finals (by s. 20); as, hasejja, -jjā; tuvarejja, -jjā, etc.

ĪA BHŪTE (23)

īa[11] is substituted for the affix after a root in a past tense: as,

huvīa, hasīa *for* abhavat, 'he was,' ahasat, 'he laughed'.

EKĀCHO HĪA (24)

hīa is substituted for the affix after a monosyllabic root in a past tense: as,

hohīa *for* abhūt, he was.'

future are *hojjahii, hojjahii, hojja, hojjā, pakṣe hohii*, which I have supplied above, as all Vararuchi's MSS. omit them, except W, which erroneously reads *hojjai* like the present Hema-ch also applies the forms to all the persons

11 For sūtras 23, 24, *cf.* Lass Inst p 354 Some MSS seem to have *ia* for *īa*, but the Sanksh Sāra and Hema-ch have *ia* The latter's sūtras are as follow, "*si hi hīa bhūtārthasya* Instead of the affixes of the third and other preterites (*adyatanyādis pratyayo bhūtārthas*) *sī hī* and *hia* are substituted, and as the *ia* of the next rule is restricted to a root ending in a consonant, we infer that this rule applies to one ending in a vowel as, *kāsī, kāhi, kāhiā* for *akārṣit, akarot, chakāra* from *kṛ*."—"*vyanjanād īa* For the affixes of the third and other preterites, after a root ending in a consonant, *īa* is substituted: as, *huvia*, for *abhūt, abhavat, babhūva*, etc." *huv* being a form for *bhū*, by viii 1.

ASTERĀSIḤ (25)

āsi is substituted for *asti* in the singular of a past tense: as,

āsi rāā *for* āsīd rajā, 'there was a king.'[1]

NICHA EDĀDERATA ĀT (26)

e is substituted for *nich*, the causal affix, and an *a* in the first syllable of the root becomes *ā*: as,

kārei, hāsei *for* kārayati, 'he causes to do,' hāsayati, 'he causes to laugh.'

AVE CHA (27)

āve also is substituted for *nich*, as well as *e* as,

karāvei. *kārāvei*, *hasāvei* *for kārayati*, 'he *causes to do*,' hāsayati, 'he causes to laugh.'[12]

ĀVIḤ KTAKARMABHĀVESU VĀ (28)

āvi is optionally substituted for nich, [i] when *kta* (the affix of the past participle) follows, and [ii] when the object and the action are signified (*i.e*, in the passive voice): as,

[i.] karāviam, hasāviam, *or* kāriam, hāsiam, *for* kārita, '*caused to do*,' *hāsita*, '*caused to laugh*'.

[ii.] karāvijjai, hasāvijjai, *or* kārijjai, hāsijjai, *for* kāryate, 'he is caused to do,' hāsyate, 'he is caused to laugh.'

[NAIDĀVE] (29)

e and āve are not substituted for nich when kta follows, or in the passive voice thus we have only *kāriam*, *karāviam*, *kārijjai*, *karāvijjai*.

12 The Pr Sanj adds *pūrvasutrād yogabheda āderanādésārtha* i e, 'this sūtra is separated from the preceding [*cf* iii 49] because the substitution for the initial *a* is not enjoined here' Bhāmaha allows both forms

ATA Ā MIPI VA (30)

ā is optionally substituted for the final of a root ending in *a*, when *mip* follows: as,

hasāmi *or* hasami, 'I laugh'.

ICHCHA BAHUṢU (31)

i is substituted (as well as *ā*) for the final *a*; in the 1st person plural: as,

hasimo, hasāmo, hasimu, hasāmu, 'we laugh'.[13]

KTE (32)

i is substituted for the final *a* when *kta* (the affix of the past participle) follows: as,

hasiaṃ. paḍhiaṃ *for* hasitaṃ, 'laughed,' paṭhitaṃ, 'recited'.

ECHA KTVĀTUMUNTAVYABHAVIṢYATSU (33)

When the affixes *ktvā*, *tumun*, and *tavya* follow, and also in the future tense, *e* is substituted for *a*; and also *i*, as we infer from the *cha* of the sūtra: as,

haseūṇa, hasiūṇa, 'having laughed'; haseuṃ, hasiuṃ, 'to laugh'; haseavvaṃ, hasiavvaṃ, '(it is) to be laughed'; hasehii, hasihii, 'he will laugh'.

LADESE VĀ (34)

e is optionally substituted for a final *a*, wherever it is followed by a substitute for *l*[14] (or in other words, in any person of any tense): as,

hasei *or* hasaï, 'he laughs'; hasenti *or* hasanti, 'they laugh'.

13 This *ā* seems optional by sūt. 30; hence we have such forms as *hasamu*; *cf.* sūt. 4.

14 *Cf.* Pāṇini 4, 77.

SECTION THE EIGHTH

BHUVO HOHUVAŬ (1)

For the verbal root *bhū*, 'to be,' *ho* and *huva* are substituted: as,

hoi, huvaī, 'he is', honti, huvanti, 'they are'.

KTE HUḤ (2)

When *bhū* is followed by *kta*, the affix of the past participle, *hu* is substituted: as,

huam,[1] 'been'.

PRĀDER BHAVAḤ (3)

When *bhū* follows a preposition, as *pra*, etc., *bhava* is substituted: as,

pabhavaī *for* prabhavati, 'he prevails': sambhavaī *for* sambhavati, 'he is born.'

TVARAS TUVARAḤ (4)

For the root *tvar* (*nitvarā*) 'to hasten,, *tuvara* is substituted. as,

tuvaraī, 'he hastens'.

KTE TURAḤ (5)

When *tvar* is followed by the participial affix *kta*, *tura* is substituted; as,

turiam [for the *i*, *cf*. vii. 32].

GHUṆO GHOLAḤ (6)

For *ghuṇa* (which in the dhātupātha or 'glossary of roots,' is arranged with *ghurṇa* in the sense of rolling') *ghola* is substituted: as,

gholaī, 'he rolls'.

1 Or perhaps *hūaṃ*, *cf* Var Lect

NUDO NOLLAḤ (7)

For the root *ṇud* (*ṇuda*), 'to send', *nolla* is substituted: as,

ṇollaï, 'he sends'; paṇollaï, 'he drives'.[2]

DŪṄO DŪMAḤ (8)

For the root *dū* (*dūn*), *dūma* is substituted: as,

dūmaï, 'he is pained.'

PAṬEḤ PHALAḤ[3] (9)

For the root *paṭ* (*paṭa*, given in the dhātupātha with *aṭa*, in the sense of 'going'), *phala* is substituted: as,

phalıaṃ hıaaṃ, 'my heart is gone' (?).

PADEḤ PĀLAḤ (10)

For the root *pad* (*pada*); *pāla* is substituted: as,

pālei, 'he goes'.

VṚṢAKṚṢAMṚṢAHṚṢĀMṚITO 'RIḤ (11)

ari is substituted for the *ṛ* of the roots *vṛṣh*, etc.: as,

varisaï, 'it rains'; karisaï, 'he drags'; marisaï, 'he bears patiently', harisaï, 'he is glad'.

ṚTO 'RAḤ (12)

ara is substituted when a root ends in *ṛ*: as,

mr. 'to die,' maraï; sṛ, 'to go', saraï; vṛ, 'to choose,' varai.

KṚIÑAḤ KUṆO VĀ (13)

kuṇa is optionally used for the root *kṛ* (*dukṛṇ*): as,

kuṇaï *or* karaï, 'he does.'

JṚBHO JAMBHĀAḤ (14)

For *jṛbh* (*jṛbhī*), 'to yawn', *jambhāa* is substituted; as,

jambhāaï, 'he yawns.'

2 Others read *lona* for *nolla*, and two MSS. insert both rules, but this only proves that it is an old Var. Lect. In Sect. iv, we have some instances of a similar transposition of the nasal, as *āṇāla*, etc

3 The Prāk Sanj. reads *pāṭeh phālah*, and restricts it to the casual

GRAHERGEṆHAḤ (15)

For *grah* (*graha*), 'to seize,' *genha* is substituted: as, genhaï, 'he seizes.'

GHET KTVĀTUMUNTAVYEṢU (16)

ghet is substituted for *grah*, when followed by *ktvā*, the affix of the indeclinable participle, *tumun*, that of infinitive, and *tavya*, that of the future participle: as,

ghettuna, 'having seized', ghettum, 'to seize', ghettavvam, 'to be seized.'[4]

KṚÑAḤ KĀ BHUTABHAVISYATOSCHA (17)

ka is substituted for the root *kṛ*, in the past and the future tenses, and also (as we infer from the *cha* of the sūtra) when the affixes *ktvā*, *tumun*, and *tavya* follow: as,

kahīa, 'he did' [for this, *cf.* vii 24], kāhii, 'he will do', kaūna, 'having done', kāum, 'to do', kaavvam, 'to be done'.

SMARATERBHARASUMARAU (18)

For the root *smṛ*, 'to remember,' *bhara*[5] and *sumara* are substituted: as,

Bharai *or* sumarai, 'he remembers'

BHIYO BHĀVIHAU (19)

For the root *bhī* (*nibhi*), 'to fear,' *bhā*[6] and *viha* are substituted: as,

bhai *or* vihai, 'he fears'

4 If *it* be the correct reading in the examples, we must read *ghet* or *ghett* for *ghe* *Cf* Var Lect and transl, notes iv 23, and viii, 55

5 Hema ch '*smarer jara jura bhara bhala ladha vimhara sumara pavara pambuhāh*'

6 *Bhāāhi* and *bhaissadi* are found in Śak (Williams') pp 176, 15, 254, 1

[JIGHRATEH PĀPĀAÜ] (20)

For the root *ghrā*, 'to smell,' *pā* and *pāa* are substituted: as,

pāi *or* pāai, 'he smels'

MLAI VĀVĀAÜ (21)

For the root *mlai*, 'to wither,' *vā* and *vāa* are substituted as,

vāi *or* vāaï, 'he withers'

TRIPASTHIMPAH (22)

For the root *trp* (*trpa*, given in the dhātupātha with *trimpa* in the sense of 'being pleased') *thimpa* is substituted:

thimpai, 'he is pleased.'

JÑO JĀNAMUNAÜ (23)

For the root *jna*, 'to know,' *jāna* and *muna* are substituted as,

jānai and munai, 'he knows,

JALPERLO MAH (24)

m is substituted for the *l* of the root *jalp* (*jalpa*). 'to speak articulately' as,

jampai

STHĀDHYĀGĀNĀM THĀAJHĀAGĀAH (25)

For the roots *stha*, 'to stand,' *dhyai*, 'to meditate,' *gai*, 'to sing' (given in the dhātupātha in the list *kai*, *gai*, *rai* in the sense of 'sound'), *thāa*, *jhāa* and *gāa* are respectively substituted as,

thāanti 'they stand', jhāanti, 'they meditate', gāanti, 'they sing'

[THĀJHĀGĀSCHA VARTAMĀNABHAVISYAD-VIDHYĀDYEKAVACHANESU] (26)

For the roots *shtha*, *dhyai*, and *gai*, when followed by the singular affixes of the imperative, the future, and the present, *thā*, *jhā*, and *gā* are severally substituted, as well

as the substitutes mentioned in the preceding sūtra (as we infer from the *cha* in the present one): as,

thāi *or* thāaī, 'he stands', thāhii *or* thahii, 'he will stand'; thāu *or* thāau, 'let him stand'; and similarly jhāi *or* jhāaī, jhāhii *or* jhāahii, jhāu *or* jhāau, gāi *or* gāai, gāhii *or* gāahii, gāu *or* gāāu.

[KHĀDIDHĀVYOḤ KHĀDHAU] (27)

For the roots *khad* (*khādr*), 'to eat,' and *dhāv* (*dhāvu*), 'to run,' *khā* and *dhā* are substituted in the preceding sūtra: as,

khāi, 'he eats', khāhii, 'he will eat', khāu, 'let him eat', and similarly dhāi, dhāhii, dhāu.

GRASERVISAḤ (28)

For the root *gras* (given in the dhātup. in the list *grasu*, *glasu*, in the sense of 'eating') *visa* is substituted: as,

visai, 'he eats.'

CHIÑAS CHINAH (29)

For the root *chi* (*chiñ*), 'to gather', *china* is substituted: as,

chinai, 'he gathers'

KRĪÑAḤ KIṆAH (30)

For the root *krī* (*dūkrñ*), 'to buy,' *kina* is substituted. as, kinaī, 'he buys'

VEH KKECHA (31)

kke is the substitute for *krī*, when preceded by the preposition *vi*, and *kina* also, as we infer from the *cha* in the sūtra as,

vikkei *or* vikkinaī [for the *kk*, *cf.* iii. 50], 'he sells,'

UD-DHMA UDDHUMĀ (32)

For the root *dhmā*, 'to blow,' when preceded by the preposition *ut*, *uddhumā* is substituted: as,

uddhumāi.

ŚRADO DHO DAHAḤ (33)

For the root *dhā* (*ḍudhāñ*), 'to hold,' when preceded by the particle *śrad*, *daha* is substituted: as,

saddahaī, 'he believes'; saddahiam, 'believed.'

AVĀDGĀHER VĀHAḤ (34)

For the root *gāh* (*gāhū*), 'to churn,' etc., when preceded by the preposition *ava*, *vāha* is substituted: as,

ovāhaı or avavāhaı, 'he bathes' [*cf.* iv. 21].

KĀSERVĀSAḤ (35)

'Preceded by *ava*' is continued from the foregoing sūtra. For the root *kās* (*kāsṛ*), 'to cough', when preceded by *ava*, *vāsa* is substituted: as,

ovāsaī *or* avavāsaī, 'he coughs.'

NIRO MĀÑO MĀṆAḤ (36)

For the root *mā* (*māṅ*), 'to measure,' when preceded by the preposition *nir*, *māṇa* is substituted: as,

nimmāṇaī, 'he makes.'

KSHIYO JHIJJAA (37)

For the root *kṣi*, 'to destroy,' *jhijja* is substituted: as,

jhijjaī, 'he destroys.'

BHIDICHHIDORANTYASYA NDAH (38)

For the final of the roots *bhid* (*bhidir*), 'to break,' and *chhid* (*chhidir*) 'to cut', *nda* is substituted: as,

bhindaı, 'he breaks', chhindaī, 'he cuts.'

KVATHERḌHAḤ (39)

For the final of the root *kvath* (*kvatha*), 'to boil,' *ḍha* is substituted: as,

kaḍhaī, 'he boils.'

VESHTEŚCHA (40)

ḍha is also substituted for the final of the root *veṣṭ* (*veṣṭa*), 'to surround': as,

veḍḍhaī, 'he surrounds.' This and the preceding sūtra,

which might otherwise have been united, are separated on account of the latter of the two [s. 40]; which enjoins a substitute for a final *conjunct* instead of a single consonant, and therefore comes within the range of Sect. iii. 51.[7]

UTSAMORLAḤ (41)

For the final of the *veṣṭ*, *la* is substituted, when it is preceded by the prepositions *ut* and *sam*: as,

uvvellaï, samvellaï.

RUDER VAḤ (42)

For the final of the root *rud* (*rudir*), 'to weep,' *va* is substituted: as,

ruvaï, 'he weeps.'

UDO VIJAḤ (43)

For the final of the root *vij*, preceded by *ut*, *va* is substituted: as,

uvvivaï, 'he trembles.'

VṚDHERḌHAḤ (44)

For the final of the root *vṛdh* (*vṛdhu*), 'to increase,' *ḍha* is substitued: as,

vaḍḍhaï, 'he increases.'

HANTERMMAḤ (45)

mma is substituted for the final of the root *han* (*hana*), 'to strike': as,

hammaï, 'he strikes.'

RUṢĀDINĀM DĪRGHATĀ (46)

In the roots *ruṣh*, etc. the vowel is lengthened: as,

rūsaï, tūsaï, sūsaï, *for* rusyati, 'he is angry', tusyati, 'he is pleased', śusyati, 'he dries.'

7 None of the MSS write the ex with *ddh*, but that given above seems the natural explanation of the *yagavibhāga uttarārthah*. The Prāk. Sanj is corrupt here, but seems to allow a second form *vetthai* (by iii. 10), it gives no expl of *yogavibhāga*, etc, and this would have rather required *nityārtha* [*cf* iii. 49].

CHCHO VRAJANṚITYOḤ (47)

chcha is substituted for the final of the roots *vraj* (*vraja*), 'to go,' and *nṛt* (*nṛtī*), 'to dance': as,

vachchaï, 'he goes'; ṇachchaï, 'he dances.'[8]

YUDHIBUDHYORJHAḤ (48)

jha is substituted for the final of the roots *yudh*, 'to fight,' and *budh*, 'to know:' as,

jujjhaï, 'he fights,' vujjhaï, he knows.'

RUDHER NDHAMBHAŪ (49)

ndha and *mbha* are substituted for the final of *rudh* (*rudhir*), 'to hinder:' as,

rundhaï, rumbhaï, 'he hinders.'

MṚDO LAḤ (50)

la is substituted for the final of the root *mṛd* (*mṛda*), 'to grind:' as,

malaï, 'he grinds.'

SADLṚPATYORḌAḤ (51)

ḍa is substituted for the final of the roots *śad* (*śadlṛ*), 'to decay,' and *pat* (*patlṛ*), 'to fall:' as,

sadaï, 'he decays;' paḍaï, 'he falls.'

SAKĀDĪNĀṂ DVITVAṂ (52)

The final of the roots *śak* (*śaklṛ*), etc., is doubled: as, sakkaï,[9] laggaï, *for* śaknoti, 'he is able,' lagati, 'he adheres.'

SPHUṬICHALYORVĀ (53)

The final of the roots *sphuṭ* (*sphuṭa*), 'to blossom,' and *chal* (*chala*), 'to tremble,' is optionally doubled: as,

phuṭṭaï *or* phuḍaï (the *ṭ*, when it is not doubled, becoming *ḍ* by ii. 20); challaï *or* chalaï.

8 *Nachchanaṃ=nartanam*, Śak. (Williams'), p. 165, 1.

9 *Cf. sakkanomi=śaknomi*; Śak. (Williams'), p. 108, 2.

PRĀDER MĪLAḤ (54)

The final of the root *mīl* (*mīla*), 'to wink,' is optionally doubled, when it is preceded by the prepositions *pra*, etc.: as,

pamillaī, pamīlaī.[10]

BHUJĀDĪNĀṂ KTVĀTUMUNTAVYEṢU LOPAḤ (55)

The finals of the roots *bhuj*, etc., are elided, when the affixes *ktvā*, *tumun*, and *tavya* follow: thus from *bhuj* we have

Bhottūṇa, bhottuṃ, bhottavvaṃ; *for* bhuktvā, 'having eaten,' bhoktuṃ, 'to eat,' bhoktavyam, 'to be eaten.'—Similarly from *vid*, 'to know,' vettūna, vettuṃ, vettavvaṃ; and from *rud*, 'to weep,' rottūṇa, rottum, rottavvam.[11]

ŚRUHUJILŪDHUVĀM ṆO 'NTYE HRASVAḤ (56)

At the end of the roots *śru*, 'to hear,' *hu*, 'to offer,' *ji*, 'to conquer,' *lū* (*lūñ*), 'to cut,' *dhū* (*dhūn*), 'to shake,' *ṇa* is to be employed, and the preceding long vowel is to be shortened: as,

sunaī, hunaī, jinaī, lunaī, dhunaī.

BHĀVAKARMAṆORVVAŚCHA (57)

At the end of these roots, when the passive[12] is

10 Some of the MSS seem to take *prāder* as equal to *pra-pūrvasya*, but *cf* viii. 3. The Prāk Sanj agrees with the text, and also gives examples with *pra* and *ut*, adding *mīla iti kim*, *mīlai*

11 If the above be the correct text (and it is also found in the Pr. Sanj) *tuna* as well as *ūna* will be the Prākṛit equiv for *ktvā*, *cf.* iv 23, transl. note. The Pr Sanj (which always has *tuna*=*ktvā*) explains the *tt* by iii 58

12 *Karman*=our passive, *bhāva* is the impersonal passive of a neuter verb.

signified, *vva* is to be employed, but *na* may also be used, as we infer from the *cha* in the sūtra: as,

suvvai *or* suṇijjai [vii. 8], huvvai *or* huṇijjaī, *or* jivvai *or* jiṇijjai, luvvai, *or* luṇijjaī, dhuvvai *or* dhuṇijjaī.

srūyate, 'it is heard', hūyate, 'it is offered', jīyate, 'it is conquered,' etc.

GAMĀDĪNĀM DVITVAṂ VĀ (58)

In the case of the roots *gama*, etc., the final letter is optionally doubled in the passive, (*cf.* vii. 9.)- as,

gammai, gamijjai, rammaī, ramijjaī, hassai, hasijjai

gamyate, 'it is gone', ramyate, 'it is played'; hasyate, 'it is laughed.'

LIHERLIJJHAH (59)

lijjha is substituted for the root *lih* (*liha*), 'to lick,' in the sense of the passive as,

lijjhaī, 'it is licked.'

HṚKROR HĪRAKĪRAU (60)

For the roots *hṛ*, and *kṛ* *hīra* and *kīra* are severally substituted in the sense of the passive: as,

hīrai, 'it is seized', kīrai, 'it is done.'

GRAHER DĪRGHO VĀ (61)

A long vowel is optionally substituted for the short *a* in the root *grah*, in the sense of the passive. as,

gāhijjai *or* gahijjai, 'it is seized.'

KTENA DIṆṆĀDAYAH (62)

dinna, etc , are used as irregular forms for some participles with the affix *kta*: thus,

dā (dadān), 'to give,' dinna, 'given', rud (rudit), 'to weep,' runnam, 'wept,' tras (trasī) 'to fear,' hittham, 'alarmed', dah (daha), 'to burn,' daddham, 'burned', ranj (ranji), 'to be attached to,' rattaṃ (?), 'attached to.'

KHIDERVISŪRAḤ[13] (63)

For the root *khid* (*khida*), 'to be distressed,' *visūra* is substituted. as,

virahena visūraī vālā, 'the maiden is distressed by the absence (of her beloved.)'

KRUDHERJŪRAḤ (64)

For *krudh* (*krudha*), 'to be angry,' *jūra* is substituted: as,

jūraī, 'he is angry'.

CHARCHESCHAMPAḤ (65)

For *charch* (*charcha*), 'to study,' *champa* is substituted as,

champaī, 'he studies,'

TRASERVAJJAḤ (66)

For *tras* (*trasī*), 'to fear,' *vajja* is substituted: as,

vajjaī, 'he fears'.

MṚJERLUBHASUPAU (67)

For *mṛj* (*mrju*), 'to cleanse,' *lūbha* and *supa* are substituted: as,

lubhaī *or* supaī, 'he cleanses.'

VUTTAKHUPPAU MASJEḤ (68)

For *masj* (*tumasjo*) 'to be immerged,' *vutta* (?) and *khuppa* are substituted as,

vuttaī, khuppaī, 'he is immerged.'

DṚŚEḤ PULAANIAKKAAVAKKHĀḤ[14] (69)

For the root *dṛś* (*dṛśir*), 'to see,' *pulaa*, *nikka*, and *avakkha* are substituted: as,

pulaaī, niakkaī, avakkhaī, 'he sees'.

13 W continues to refer the remaining sutras to the passive but the adhikāra of sūt. 57 ended, no doubt, at sūt 62.

14 The Prak Sanj reads this sut. "*Drīseh pulaa ṇiachchha avakkhasachchavah*," the Sanksh Sara has a sūtra, given by Delius (Rad

ŚAKESTARAVAATĪRĀḤ (70)

For the root *śak* (*śakḷ*) 'to be able' *tara*, *vaa*, and *tīra* are substituted: as,

tarai, vaaï, tīraï, 'he is able.'

SEṢĀṆĀMADANTATĀ (71)

The anubandhas of the remaining roots are elided, and the roots themselves considered as ending in short *a*: thus,

bhraṃ (bharamu), 'to wander,' bhamaï, 'he wanders'; chub (chubi), 'to kiss,' chumvaï, 'he kisses'.

Prāk) "*Dṛśeh pulaa*-[Cod - *naa*] - *niachchha* - *avakkha*-[Cod - *jjha*]-*sachchava-pekkhāh*," so that no doubt we should correct Vararuchi's *niakka* to *niachchha*, which is probably meant in the ex. of v. 2 [*cf.* p. 46]. In the 'Mahāvīra-charita' (Trithen's ed) we twice find the form *puloa* [p 99, 3; *puloanto chiṭṭhadi*, p. 100, 10, *asoavaniāsam-muham puloedi*] which is the only form I have met with like *pulaa* in the plays. Hema-ch gives the forms *niachchha*, *pechchha*, *avayach-chha*, *avayajjha*, *vajja*, *sachchava*, *dekkha*, *oakkha*, *avakkha*, *avaakkha*, *puloa*, *pulaa*, *nia*, *avaāsa*, *pāsa*.

SECTION THE NINTH

NIPĀTĀḤ[1] (1)

This section will treat of particles [*nipātāḥ*], following the method of the Sanskrit grammarians.

HUṂ DĀNAPṚCHCHHĀNIRDHĀRAṆEṢU (2)

huṃ is a particle used in the sense of giving, asking, or speaking emphatically: as,

huṃ geṇha appaṇo jīaṃ, 'go take your life'; 'huṃ sāhusu sabbhāvaṃ, 'wish good to the good'(?); huṃ huvasu tuṇhikko, 'come, be quiet.'

VIA VEA AVADHĀRAṆE (3)

via and *vea* are used in the sense of asseveration: as, evam via, evam vea, 'so, certainly.'[2]

O SŪCHANĀPASCHĀTTĀPAVIKALPEṢU (4)

o is used in the sense of indication, remorse and indecision; for examples the Comment. refers us to the *gāthāḥ*, or poems, written in Prākṛt.[3]

IRAKIRAKILĀ ANISCHITĀKHYĀNE (5)

ira, *kira*, and *kila* are used in doubtful assertion: as, pekkha ira teṇa hado, 'see, he was possibly killed by him.'

1 As this Section treats only of interjections, etc., I have not translated all the examples in full.

2 See Lass. App., p. 189.

3 The Prākṛt of these first nine Sections [Lassen's 'Dialectus Præcipua'] is peculiarly the poetic dialect. It is called the Māhārāṣṭrī in xii. 32. The Sauraseni is the form employed in prose.

HUM KKHU NISCHAYAVITARKASAMBHĀVANEṢU (6)

hum and *kkhu* are used in the sense of resolution, doubt, or reflection: as,

huṃ rakkhaso, 'What! is it a Rākṣasa?'

ṆAVARAḤ KEVALE (7)

ṇavara is used in the sense of 'only': as,

ṇavara[4] aṇṇam, 'Only boiled rice.'

ĀNAMTARYE ṆAVARI (8)

navari is used in the sense of immediate sequence, 'then.'

KIṆO PRAŚNE (9)

kiṇo is used in the sense of a question: as,

kino duvvasi, 'Why are you agitated?'

AVVO DUḤKHASUCHANĀSAMBHĀVANEṢU (10)

avvo is used in the sense of distress, indication, or reflection: as,

avvo kajjalarasaranjiehiṃ achchhīhiṃ, 'Alas! (I am undone) by those eyes tinged with collyrium,' etc.

ALĀHI NIVĀRAṆE (11)

alāhi is used in the sense of opposition: as,

alāhi kalahalēseṇa, 'Enough of this petty quarrelling.'

AI VALE SAMBHĀṢAṆE (12)

aï and *vale* are used in the sense of addressing a person: as,

aï mūlam pasūsai, 'Is the root dried up?' vale kim kalesi avale, 'Come maiden, what are you thinking of?'

4 Perhaps this should be *navaram*; *cf.* Ratnāvalī p. 26, 12, '*saranaṃ ṇavaram ekam.*' *Cf.* Lenz. Urvaśī, App. p. 15.

NAVI VAIPARĪTYE (13)

navi is used in the sense of contrariety: as,

navi taha pahasaī vālā, 'Not eaen the maiden smiles.'[5]

SU KUTSĀYĀM (14)

sū is used in the sense of censure as,

sū sivino, 'Sleep] for shame!'

RE ARE HIRE SAMBHĀṢAṆARATIKALAHĀKṢHEPESU (15)

re, *are*, and *bire* are used in the sense of addressing a a person, or of delight, or quarrelling: as,

re mā karehi, 'Oh! do not do it!' etc.

MMIVAVIĀ IVĀRTHE (16)

mmiva, *miva*, and *via* are used in the sense of *iva*, 'like': as,

gaanam mmiva, (miva, *or* via,) kasanam, 'Black like the sky.'

[AJJA ĀMANTRAṆE] (17)

ajja is used in the sense of courteous address:] as,

ajja mahānuhāva kim karesi, 'What art thou doing, oh illustrious one?'[6]

SESAH SANSKRTĀT (18)

The remainder [*i e*, all that has not been treated of], whether rules for letters, genders, *taddhita* derivatives, composition, or affixes, etc., *must* be learned from the Sanskrt grammar (as Prākrt assumes this as its basis), they are omitted here from fear of swelling the treatise beyond its proper size.

5 *navi=nāpi*, 'not even.' [*'nedum*,' Lass. p 370], the MSS explain it by *vipa* [illegible] in the sense of perverse or contrary to one's expectation.

6 This sūt is doubtful, being only found in four MSS In the ex. [illegible]

SECTION THE TENTH

PAIŚĀCHĪ (1)

The paiśāchī is the dialect of the piśāchas,[1] or 'goblins,' which (like the other dialects) is explained in this section by definitions and examples.

PRAKṚTIḤ ŚAURASENĪ (2)

The original of this dialect [*i.e.*, that which forms the base on which its peculiarities are engrafted] is the śauraseni (or the Prākṛit dialect peculiar to prose; *cf.* xii. 1).

VARGĀṆAM TṚTIYACHATURṢAYORAYJORANĀDYORADYAU (3)

Instead of the third and fourth letters of each class, when single and non-initial, we must use the first and second respectively [*i.e.*, *k* for *g*, and *kh* for *gh*; *ch* for *j*, and *chh* for *jh*, etc.]: as,

gakanaṃ, mekho, rāchā nichehharo,[2] etc.

gaganaṃ, 'the sky', meghaḥ, 'a cloud'; rājā, 'a king'; nirjharaḥ, 'a cascade, etc.

IVASYA PIVAḤ (4)

piva is used for *iva*, 'like': as,

kamalam piva mukhaṃ, 'A face like a lotus.'

1 I know of no instances of this dialect in any of the plays; the rākṣasas who are introduced in the *Venisamhāra* speak a kind of *arddha-māgadhi* [*cf* Lass p. 411], without the two peculiar features of the paiśāchi, the dental nasal, and the substitution of hard for soft consonants

2 This is not a good ex., as it should be a *single* letter. I omit the remaining examples.

ṆO NAḤ (5)

n is used for *ṇ*: as,
taluṇī *for* taruṇī, 'a girl.'

STASYA SATAḤ (6)

sata is used for *sta*: as,
kasataṃ mama vattaī, 'I it my sorrow.'

SNASYA SANAḤ (7)

sana is used for *sna*: as,
sanānaṃ *for* snānaṃ, 'bathing.'

RYASYA RIAḤ (8)

ria is used for *rya*: as,
bhāriā *for* bhāryā, 'a wife.'

JÑASYA ÑJAH (9)

ñj is used for *jñ*: as,
viñjāto, *for* vijñāta, 'known.'

KANYĀYAṂ NYASYA (10)

ñj is substituted for *ny* in the word *kanyā*, 'a girl': as, kañjā.

JJA CHCHA (11)

chch is used for the *jj*, which in the Saurasenī dialect is substituted for *ry* [*cf* iii 17] as.
kachcham *for* kāryam, 'to be done.'

RĀJÑO RĀCHI ṬĀNASINASṄISU VĀ (12)

rāchi is optionally used for *rājan*, 'a king,' before the case-affixes of the instr., abl., gen., and loc. singular as, instr., *rāchinā* or *rañjā*, abl and gen *rāchino* or *rañjo*. loc., *rāchini* or *rañji* 'Why do we specify these cases?' Because we have in nom. sing., *rāchā*, acc. sing., *rāchānam*, and acc. plur *rañjo* by sūtras 3, 9.

KTVASTŪNAṂ (13)

tūnam is used for *ktvā*, the affix of the indecl. past participle: as,

dātūnam *for* datvā, 'having given,' etc.

HṚDAYASYA HITAAKAṂ (14)

hitaaka is used for the word *hṛdaya*, 'the heart': as,

hitaakaṃ harasi me taluni, 'Maiden, thou ravishest my heart.'

SECTION THE ELEVENTH

MĀGADHI (1)

The Māgadhī is the dialect of the Māgadhas, and it is here explained by definitions and examples.

PRAKṚTIḤ SAURASENI (3)

The original of this dialect is the Śaūrasení.

SHASOḤ SAḤ (3)

ś is substituted for *ṣ* and *s*: as,

māśe, vilāśe, *for* māṣaḥ, 'a bean,' and vilāsaḥ, 'coquetry' [for the final *e*, *cf*. *s*. 10].

JO YAḤ (4)

y is substituted for *j*: as,

yāyade *for* jāyate, 'he is born.' [For the *d*, *cf*. xii. 3.]

CHAVARGSYA SPṚṢṬATĀ[1] TATHOCHCHA-RAṆAḤ (5)

The palatal letters are pronounced with but a very slight contact of the tongue with the roof of the mouth (*aspṛṣṭatā*)

1 This sūtra is very unintelligible as it stands in the MSS with *spaṣṭatā*, and Lassen's conjecture of *aspaṣṭatā* does not seem satisfactory, the above is merely given as a conjectural emendation The *ābhyantara-prayatna*, or internal effort in the utterance of the palatals is properly *spṛṣṭa*, because the organs of utterance are 'in contact', but in that of the semi-vowels (of which *y* corresponds to the palatals) it is *īṣat spṛṣṭa*, because here they but slightly touch, which I suppose to be meant by the Sarkšh Sāra's "*yaṇa [illegible] [illegible]*." *Aspṛṣṭa* properly refers to the vowels, but may here perhaps mean simply *īṣat spṛṣṭa* In any case, the rule seems to refer to niceties of pronunciation If the palatals really had this feeble sound, of course the aspirates *ch* and *jh* lose the additional letter which is prefixed to them in the proper Prākṛt [*cf*. Lass. p. 3?7].

HṚDAYASYA HAḌAKKAḤ (6)

haḍakka is substituted for *hṛdaya*, 'the heart': as, haḍakke ālale mama, 'respect in my heart'. (?)

RYARJAYORYYAH (7)

yy is substituted for *ry* and *rj*: as, kayye, duyyane *for* kāryam, 'to be done,' durjanaḥ, 'wicked.'

KṢASYA SKAḤ (8)

sk is substituted fr *kṣ*: as, laskaśe, daske *for* rākṣasaḥ, 'a demon,' dakṣaḥ, 'clever'.

ASMADAḤ SAU HAKE HAGE AHAKE (9)

For *asmad*, 'I', followed by the nom. affix *su*, *hake*, *hage* and *ahake* are substituted: as, hake, hage, *or* ahake bhaṇāmi, 'I speak.'

ATA IDETAU LUKCHA (10)

su is continued from sūt. 9. When *su* follows a noun ending in *a*, i and e are substituted; elision of the affix is also optionally allowed: as,

eśi lāā, eśe pulise, eśa *for* eṣa rājā, 'this king,' eṣa purusah, 'this man.'

KTĀNTĀDUŚCHA (11)

u is substituted when the affix *su* follows a word ending with the affix *kta*, and also (as we infer from the *cha* of the sūt.) we may optionally use the *i* or *e* of the preceding sūt., or even elide the affix: as,

hasidu *or* haśidi, haśide, haśida, *for* hasitaḥ, 'smiling.'

ṄASO HO VĀ DIRGHATVAMCHA (12)

ha is optionally substituted for *ṅas*, the affix of the gen. sing., and at the same time the preceding vowel is lengthened: as,

puliśāha *or* puliśaśśa dhaṇe *for* puruṣasya dhanam, 'the man's wealth.'

ADĪRGHAS SAMBUDDHAU (13)

When the affix *su* follows a noun ending in *a*, in the sense of the vocative, the *a* is lengthened : as,

pulisā āgachchhha, "Approach, oh man."—'Why do we say in the sense of the vocative?' Compare Vamhaṇaśśa dhane, 'the brāhmaṇ's wealth.'

CHIṬṬHASYA CHIṢṬHAḤ (14)

Chiṣṭha is the Māgadhī substitution for *chiṭṭha*, the Śaurasenī form of *shṭhā*, 'to stand : as,

puliśe chiṣṭhadi, 'the man stands.'

KṚÑMṚÑGAMĀṂ KTASYA DAḤ (15)

ḍa is substituted for the affix *kta* in the verbs *kṛ* (*ḍukṛn*), 'to do,' *mṛ* (*mṛṅ*), 'to die,' *gam* (*gamḷ*), 'to go': as,

kade, made, gade *for* kritaḥ,, 'done'; mritaḥ, 'dead'; gataḥ, 'gone.'

KTVO DĀṆIḤ (16)

dāṇi is substituted for the affix *ktvā*: as.

śahidāni gade, 'after having borne it, he went'; karidāni āade, 'after having done it, he came.'

ŚṚGĀLASYA ŚIĀLĀŚIĀLEŚIĀLAKĀḤ (17)

For *śṛgāla*, 'a jackal,' we have these three substitutes:

śiālā, śiāle, śiālake.

[As the Māgadhī dialect is of considerable interest, I have added the following abridgement of Hema chandra's corresponding sūtras which immediately follow those on the Śauraseni *Cf.* App C

287 *ata et sau puṃsi māgadhyām* [*cf* Var xi 10]

288. *rasor lasau* [*cf* Var xi. 3]

289 *ṣasoḥ saṃyoge so grīṣme,* with Comm. the dental *s* is substituted for *ṣ* and *ś* in a conjunct, except in the word *grīṣma* (thus revoking the rule corresponding to Vararuchi, i, 1) as, *kaṣṭam, kaṣṭam* (*etc*). but *grīṣma* [illegible]

290. *ṭṭasṭhayoḥ staḥ* 'The cerebral *ṭ* joined to the dental *s*, is used for *ṭṭ* and *shṭh*: as, *bhastā* for *bhaṭṭā*, *kaste* for *kāsṭham*, *śustu* for *susṭhu*'[2]

291. *stharthayoḥ staḥ*, with ex *uvastide* [*upasthita*], *astavatī* [*arthavati* ?] [The writing of *rtha* in the MSS. is doubtful]

292. *jadyayām yaḥ*. 'y is substituted for *j* and *dy* and an initial *y* does not become *j* [*cf.* Var. ii 31]: as, *yānādi*, *viyyā*, etc.

293. *nya nya-jña-ñjām ñjaḥ*.

294. *vrajer ñjaḥ*, with ex. *vañjadi*=*vrajati*, 'he goes'.

295 *chhasya ścho 'nādau*, with ex, *gaścha* [*gachchha*], *pūschadi* [*prchchhati*].

296 *kṣasya skaḥ* [*cf.* Var. xi. 8, the *ska* is here written with the *jihvāmūlīya*]

297. *skaḥ prekṣāchakṣoḥ* [this *ska* is *not* written with the *jihvāmūlīya*]; with ex. *peskadi*=*prekṣate*, and *āchaskadi*=*āchakṣate*.

298. *tiṣṭhās chiṣṭhaḥ*,[3] with ex *chishṭhadi* [*cf.* Var. xi 14]

299. *avarnād va naso dāhaḥ*[4] [*cf.* Var xi 12]

300 *āmo dāha vā*, with ex *śayanaha* or *śayanānam*.

301. *aham-vayamor hage* [*cf.* Var xi. 9]

302. *Śeṣam saurasenīvat* [*cf.* Var. xi. 2].

2 This remarkable sūtra is borne out by the MSS of the Mṛichchhakaṭika [*cf.* Stenzler, preface], which however have the palatal sibilant, but in Prinsep's Girnar Inscription [Bengal As Soc Journal, vol vii. p 278] we find the dental as above

3 One MS has *ṣṭa* for *ṣṭha*

4 This *d* is merely an '*it*' or grammatical technicality, and is added to an affix, to imply that the word which is to receive the affix must drop its final vowel and any consonant which may follow it, *cf.* Panini, vi, 4, 143 Vararuchi never uses this sign

SECTION THE TWELFTH

[The twelfth Section treats of the Śaurasenī dialect, or that modification of the Māhārāṣṭrī (or Prākṛit properly so called), which is usually found in the prose passages of the dramas. In consequence of the loss of Bhāmaha's commentary on this Section, many of Vararuchi's Sūtras are obscure and corrupt; Hema-chandra's corresponding rules are given in Appendix C, but even these leave many difficulties unexplained. I have not attempted a translation of this Section, but have contented myself with adding a few explanatory notes; *cf.* Lass. App., pp. 49-58.]

(3) This is clearly explained in Hema-ch. 260, 267.

(4) *vāvaḍo=vyāpṛtaḥ.*

(5) *pudo* or *puddaḥ=putraḥ.*

(6) *giddho=gṛdhraḥ.*

(8) The Māhārāṣṭrī forms, by iii. 5, are *savvajjo*, etc., while the prose forms by this sūt. are *savvaṇṇo*, etc.

(9) *ia* is the proper prose form of the indecl. part.; *cf.* Hema-ch. 271.

(10) *kadua, gadua=kṛitvā, gatvā*, *cf.* Hema-ch. 272.

(11) This allows such a form as *vaṇaṇi* for the neuter nom. or acc. plural, as well as the Māhār. *vaṇāi* [v. 26].

(12) *Cf.* Hema-ch. 269.

(13) *bhavissadi, havissadi, huvissadi* are the common prose forms of the future of *bhū*, not the contracted forms *hossam, homimi*, etc.

(14) *de* is used for the root *dā* as *dedi=dadāti*; but *daissam*=fut. *dāsyāmi.*

(15) *Kuṇa* is the prose substitute for *kṛ*; *kuṇa* [viii. 13] is restricted to verse.

(16) *Chiṭṭha=sthā*, as *chiṭṭhadi* [*cf.* vi. 63, xi. 14].

(17) *Sumara* is the prose form for *smṛ*; the other form in viii. 18 is poetical

(18) *Cf.* v 14, Var. Lect.

(19-20) These are conjectural. "*Achchha* is used in prose for the root *as*, 'to be!' as, *achchhāmi=asmi.*" Lassen (p. 346) quotes from the Sanksh. Sāra *achchhai, achchhanti, achchhattha* or *achchhaha.*

"*atthi* is used in prose for the root *as*, 'to be, with the personal affix *tip* i e, *asti*

(21) This is conjectural, *cf* Lass App, p 56, and Sankṣ Sara, 15 If correct it would imply that *ssam* is optionally substituted for the affix of the first [*third*] person sing of the future and also that the previous vowel may be lengthened as *Karissam* or *karisam*, for *karişyāmī*

(22) *itthī* is the prose form for *strī*, 'a woman'

(25) This allows the form *vaam*, 'we, as well as the *amhe* of vi 43

(26) If we adopt Lassen s first conjecture *neh ssitthau* this will refer to vi 2, and prohibit the locative form in *mmi* from being used in prose As the form in *him* (as, *tahim*, etc) is also found in prose, Lassen proposes a second conject, *neh ssihitthah*, but as this rule only refers to vi 2 and *him* would still remain by virtue of vi 7, *ṅeh ssitthau* is no doubt the true reading

(27) The *atmanepada* affixes are not used in prose, *cf*, Lass p 380

(28) This sut is corrupt, but seems to imply that *e* may be used before any personal affix, as in the Mahar by vii 34

(29) This seems to imply that *e* may be used for the first person of the imperative or potential [*cf* Lass App] as *bhave* for *bhaveyam* but this is very doubtful The *cha* would imply that the common form [vii 18 ?] may be also used

(30) *Cf* iii 18

(31) If Lassen s conjecture is correct the forms of ii 35 are not used in prose

(32) This sut is important as fixing the name of the principal Prakṛt dialect with which the Sauraseni so nearly agrees All the rules therefore of Sections i—ix equally apply to the prose or the poetical Prakrt with the exception of the points mentioned in this Section

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

[The MS. W *contains many sūtras, which* are not found in any other; some seem to be taken from Hema-chandra or the Prākṛta Sanjīvanī, but others it is not easy to trace to their source. Those which have already been given in the notes (as in p. 15, note 49. etc.) will not be repeated here. None of those which follow can have any claim to be considered as Vararuchi's and many indeed at once betray a spurious origin.]

॥ सरस्मेरयोर्मश्च[1] ॥ अनयोर्मस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥ सरो सेरो । चकाराद् घस्मरादौ लोपः । घसरो इत्यादि ॥ १ ॥

॥ र्धग्धयोड्ढः[2] ॥ र्ध ग्ध इत्येतयोः स्थाने ढकारादेशः स्यात् ॥ वड्ढइ[3] विअड्ढो । वर्धते विदग्ध । इत्यादि ॥ २ ॥

॥ संयोगपूर्वो ह्रस्वः[4] ॥ सर्वत्र संयोगपूर्वो ह्रस्वो भवति ॥ कित्ती । णिक्कंती । णत्थि ॥ कीर्त्ति । निष्क्रांत । नास्ति इत्यादि ॥ ३ ॥

॥ दीर्घादिषु वा ॥ दीर्घादिषु[5] शब्देष्वादौ ह्रस्वो वा स्यात् ॥ दिग्घो दीहो । वड्डो वाढो ॥ दीर्घ वाढ इत्यादि ॥ ४ ॥

॥ इअ ल्यपश्च[6] ॥ ल्यप् प्रत्ययस्य इअ आदेशः स्यात् चकारात् क्त्वा-प्रत्ययस्यापि ॥ विहसिअ पढिअ । सुमरिअ करिअ ॥ ५ ॥

1 This is added after iii. 6.   2 After iii. 9.

3 Here and often elsewhere W has a double aspirate, which I have corrected.

4 This and the next, after iv. 1.   5 *Cf.* iii. 55.

6 This and the next, after iv. 23; both belong to Sect. xii.

॥ क्त्वो ऽपि दुअ ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्ययस्यापि दुअ आदेशो भवति ॥ गदुअ कदुअ ॥ ६ ॥

॥ भवद्भगवतोरात्व[7] ॥ भवद्भगवच्छन्दयोरात्वं विधीयते ॥ भवा भअवा कुणइ । संबोधने । हे भवं हे भअवं ॥ ७ ॥

॥ जश्शस्टां दा ॥ एषां दा स्यात् ॥ भवदा ॥ भवंतः । भवतः । भवता ॥ ८ ॥

॥ ङसिङसोर्दो ॥ भवद्दो एवदो । एवं भगवत् ॥ ९ ॥

॥ एवं सर्वेष्वताधिकारादेशेषु[8] ॥ अकारादीनां परे अताधिकारादेशा भवंति ॥ अग्गिस्स वाउस्स । अग्गीदो वाऊदो । अग्गिम्मि वाउम्मि ॥ १० ॥

॥ तत्समास्ते येषु न विकार.[9] ॥ उक्तलक्षणवशाद्येषु येषु विकारो न दृश्यते ते ते शब्दाः प्राकृतसमा बोद्धव्याः । यथा पुरंदर इत्यादि ॥ ११ ॥

॥ ल्यप् कारे हीअ[10] ॥ भूते काले ल्यप्प्रत्ययस्य हीअ इत्यादेशो भवति ॥ होहीअ । पढहीअ । हसहीअ ॥ भूय । पाठ्य ॥ हस्य ॥१२ ॥

॥ हेर्हिमः[11] ॥ हि तापे । अस्य धातोर्हिमादेशो भवति । हिमइ ॥ १३ ॥

॥ जयतेर्वा[12] ॥ जि इत्यस्य वा णकारो भवति । जिणइ जिअइ ॥ १४ ॥

7 This and the two next follow v. 44 8 After vi. 60.

9 The last sūt in Book vi, a long list of ex. is omitted.

10 After vii. 24 [*cf.* note to vii 23], this sūt seems unaccountable 11 After viii. 6.

12 This sūt. comes after W's version of viii 56 (hence the *na kāra*) which in W follows viii. 14; [*cf.* Var. Lect]

॥ नोपसर्गस्य[13] ॥ स्मृ इत्येतस्य सोपसर्गस्य भरसुमरौ न स्यातां ॥ विस्सरइ । पस्सरइ । अणुस्सरइ । अहिस्सरइ ॥ १५ ॥

॥ खिदेर्जूरविसूरौ[14] ॥ खिद् दैन्ये । अस्य जूरविसूरौ भवतः ॥ जूरइ विसूरइ ॥ १६ ॥

॥ राजेरेहः ॥ राज् दीप्तौ । अस्य धातोरेहादेशो भवति । रेहइ[15] ॥ १७ ॥

॥ इषेर्महः ॥ इष इच्छायां ॥ अस्य धातोर्महादेशो भवति । महइ[16] ॥ १८ ॥

॥ व्यधेर्विंभः ॥ व्यध ताडने । धातोर्विंभादेशो भवति । विम्भइ[17] ॥ १९ ॥

॥ अतेश्चरखः ॥ अद भक्षणे । अस्य धातोश्चरखादेशो भवति । चरखइ[18] ॥ २० ॥

॥ दाधाणोडीङामेत्वं कर्तरि ॥ एषां[19] कर्तरि एत्वं स्यात् ॥ देइ धेइ उड्डेइ । ददाति दधाति नयति उड्डीयते ॥ २१ ॥

॥ कथेर्हः[20] ॥ कथ वाक्यप्रबंधे । अस्य धातोस्थकारस्य हकारो भवति । कहइ ॥ २२ ॥

13 This sūt. follows and restricts VIII 18, the *m* being elided by III 2.

14 This and the five next sūtras follow VIII. 37. W also has *visūra* in VIII. 63, which proves this to be an interpolation.

15 Cod. *ri-*.

16 Cod *mahāi*.

17 Cod *vibbbhai*, whence Delius conject. *vijjha*.

18 *Sic* Cod , the *skh* may be an error for *kkh*.

19 I omit the recapitulation of the roots.

20 This and the next, after VIII. 38.

॥ कष्टेट्टः ॥ कष्ट विपाके। अस्य धातोरंत्यस्य ट्टत्वं भवति। कट्टइ। कट्टयति ॥ २३ ॥

॥ चवदोश्च[21] ॥ एतयोरंत्यस्य द्वित्वं वा स्यात्। चकारादोत्वं च ॥ वोच्चइ वोचइ। वोल्लइ वोलइ ॥ वक्ति वदति। वदो दो ल इति[22] लत्वं ॥ २४ ॥

॥ विकरणानामनियमः[23] ॥ विकरणानां शब्दानामनियमो भवति ॥ होज्जइ। हविज्जइ। हणिज्जइ। हम्मइ। घेत्थइ। घत्थइ। कीरइ ॥ भूयते हूयते हन्यते गृह्यते क्रियते इत्यादि ॥ २५ ॥

॥ उपमायां विअव्वौ[24] ॥ २६ ॥

॥ इतिशब्दस्य पदांते[25] त्ति ॥ २७ ॥

॥ उ क्षेपविस्मयसूचनासु[26] ॥ २८ ॥

॥ मनागर्थे मण ॥ २९ ॥

॥ हे भो आमंत्रणे[27] ॥ ३० ॥

॥ आम् स्वीकृतौ[28] ॥ ३१ ॥

॥ झटितिशब्दे झत्ति ॥ ३२ ॥

21 After VIII 53, the Commentary's *chakara* is wrong as there is no sut for *otvam*

22 *Cf* II 12 (?)

23 After VIII 71 before *ajaesa babulam*, *cf* Var. Lect, p 81

24 This and the next after IX 3, I omit the Comm and ex as being needless in sutras on *nipatah*

25 *Cf* I 14

26 This and the next after IX 8

27 After IX 13

28 This and the remaining sutras are inserted after IX 15 (being immediately preceded by the Var Lect., of sūt 9 *q v.* in notes)

॥ दाहिणो दक्षिणे वा[29] ॥ ३३ ॥

॥ अप्यर्थे विपी पदांते ॥ ३४ ॥

॥ तंस तिर्यगर्थे ॥ ३५ ॥

॥ शनैः सणिअं ॥ ३६ ॥

॥ हित्थं व्रीडितभीतयोः[30] ॥ ३७ ॥

॥ हत्तपराहत्तावभिमुखपराङ्मुखयोः[31] ॥ ३८ ॥

॥ वाहिरं बहिः ॥ ३९ ॥

॥ उण पुनः ॥ ४० ॥

॥ अंतो अतरर्थे ॥ ४१ ॥

29 With Comm *daksināsabde dābino nipātyate vikalpena, dabino pavano*

30 For this, *cf* vm. 62, note, the ex. given is *bittham daitbūna rāam=bhitāsmi drstvā rājānam*

31 The Pr Sanj and Hemach both allow *batta* to be used in the sense of *abbimukba*, *cf.* Appendix B.; W's ex is *battam gaam*

APPENDIX B

ON PAGE 35. (IV 25. COMM.)

The passage enclosed in brackets is only found in AC and stands in A as follows :—

कचिद्दा मतुपोन्तस्य[1] मंतो (altered in a later hand to -त्वो) त्वा दश्यते कचित्। हणुमंतो। इल्लालावपरे प्रायः शैषिकेषु प्रयुज्यते। पुरोभवं पुरिल्लं। आत्मीयं अणुल्लं। परिमाणे किमादिभ्यो भवंति एवैद्दहादयः। एद्दहो। कित्तिअं। एत्तिअं। जेत्तिअं। जेद्दहं। तेत्तीअं तेद्दहं कृत्ये साह्नः[2]। नमित्यन्ये देशी शब्दः स इष्यते साताह्नत्तं। सहसुत्तं। जातौ[3] वा स्वार्थिकः कः। जातो स्वार्थे ककारः प्रयोक्तव्यः।

1 C॰ न्यस्य मत्तो ता

2 C साल्लु.

3 C जीतौ and जा- in next line: C has no other Var Lect. worthy of notice

The division of the passage into sūtras (proposed by Lassen, *cf.* Inst., p. 93) is open to several objections: 1. The silence of the MSS. BDEW; there being no instance of a sūtra, much less of several sūtrās, being found in AC *alone*, although the other MSS, contain sūtras not found in AC. 2. The two MSS. themselves do not seem to give them as sūtras, as in every instance, if we separate off a part as the sūt., the Comm. is thereby rendered incomplete. 3. The passage needs hardly any alteration to run at once into verse, with

the examples interposed between each line, with the exception of the last two lines, of which more presently.

As printed in the text, I conceive the passage to be quoted by the Scholiast at the end of the Comm. on sūt. 25, for it should be borne in mind that the first three verses still refer to the affix *matup*, which is the subject of that sūt., and the fourth seems only added because other Grammarians (*ityanye*), had introduced a pronominal affix, which the author of the verse maintains to be merely a provincialism.

The Prāk. Sanj. in the course of its corrupt Comm. on sūt. 25, gives *appullam* and *purillam* (explaining the former by *ātmīyaṃ*, and the latter by *purobhavam paura styam*) and then adds *Bhavettām* (sic) *matupo 'ntyasya ākārastu tathā kvachit, hanumā hanumanto, sankhyāyāh krtvaso huttam abhimukhye'pi*[4] *drśyate; panchahuttam, panchakrtvas, chhahuttam śatkrtvas, saahuttam śatakrtvas; piahuttam, priyābhimukham; itau kimyattadeladbhyah parimāne ttiahau* (*ttiaddahau?*), *kettiam, keddaham, kim parimānam asya kiyat, jettiam jeddaham, yāvat*, etc. These do not appear to be given as new sūtras, but follow in the course of the Comm. Afte these comes a new sūtra, "*Svārthe ko vā, asminarthe prātipadikāt kapratyayo bhavati vā, bhamarao, bhramara ,pakse bhamaro*," with other similar ex.

Hema-chandra in a corresponding passage has the following sūtras, which may have occasioned the introduction of the lines in Bhāmaha at all.

4 This sense of *abhimukha* is given to *hutta* by Hema-ch. also, see *infra Cf.* the spurious sut. of W (No 38) App. A

॥ यत्तदेतदो ऽतोरित्तिअ एतल्लुक् च ॥ एभ्यः परस्य डावादेरतः परिमाणार्थस्य इत्तिअ इत्यादेशो भवति । एतदो लुक् च । यावत् जित्तिअं । तावत् तित्तिअ । एतावत् इत्तिअं ।

॥ इदंकिमश्च डेत्तिअडित्तिलडेद्दहाः ॥ इदंकिंभ्यां यत्तदेतद्भ्यश्च परस्यातोर्डावतोर्वा (*sic*) डित एत्तिअ इत्तिल एद्दह इत्यादेशा भवंति । एतल्लुक् च । इयत् एत्तिअं एत्तिलं एद्दहं । कियत् । केत्तिअं किंत्तिलं केद्दहं etc.

॥ कृत्वसो हुत्तं ॥ with ex. सअहुत्तं सहस्सहुत्तं । कथं प्रियाभिमुखं पिअहुत्तं । अभिमुखार्थेन हुत्तशब्देन भविष्यति ।

॥ आल्विल्लोल्लालवंतमंतेत्तेरमणा मतोः ॥

One ex. of *manta* is *hanumanto*, of *itta* (sic) *mānaitto*, of *ira*, *gavviro*, of *mana*, *dhanamano*; then comes *kechin-mādeśam apichchhanti*, *hanumā*.

After three unimportant sūtras we have

॥ डिल्लडुल्लौ भवे ॥ भवे ऽर्थे नाम्न॰ परौ इल्ल उल्ल इत्येतौ डितौ प्रत्ययौ भवत । पुरिल्लं अप्पुल्लं etc.

॥ स्वार्थे कश्च वा ॥ स्वार्थे कश्चकारादिल्लोल्लौ डितौ प्रत्ययौ वा भवतः ।

Hema-ch., therefore, and the author of the Pr. Sanj. both confirm the corrections which I have made in the text, down to p. 36, line 2, the *only part which is left* uncorrected being the two succeeding lines. These will not readily run into verse, and certainly bear strong marks of being a sūt. and mutilated Comm. The *jātau* at the commencement seems inexplicable, and the absence of any ex. proves that the Comm. is imperfect. Whether we should read it *svārthe ko vā*, or whether under the *jātau* there is hid some

allusion to Hema-chandra's *illollau ḍitau* is doubtful; but as it stands, *jātaṅ* is almost unintelligible, and certainly is unsupported by either of the Gramm. who are our authorities for the meaning of the whole passage (*Cf.* the Schol. quoted by Stenzler, Introd. Mṛchchhak., p. vi., which also partly runs into verse). All the MSS. agree in adding *svārthe* in the Comm. of sūt. 26, which is a strong argument for a sūtra like this having dropped out here.

APPENDIX C

HEMA-CHANDRA'S CHAPTER ON THE SAURASENĪ DIALECT

[As the twelfth Section of Vararuchi has no Comm. and is therefore in several places corrupt, I have added an abridgement of Hema-chandra's corresponding rules from the MSS. 200 (*a*) and 171 (*b*) in the Walker Collection in the Bodleian. This and the sūtras of the Sanksh. Sāra (Lassen App., p. 51) are of great use in correcting Vararuchi. The numbers affixed are given from *b*, which numbers all the sūtras. The Śaurasenī Bhāsā takes up SS. 260—286 of the fourth Pāda.]

TO DO 'NĀDAU SAURASENYĀM AYUKTASYA (260)

saurasenyām bhāsāyām anādāv apadādau vartamānasya takārasya dakāro bhavati, na ched asau varnāntarena samyukto bhavati (Var. xii. 3)

ADHAS KVACHIT. (261.)

varnāntarasya adho vartamānasya tasya do bhavati, kvachillaksyānusārena , mahando, andeuram.

VĀDES TĀVATI. (262.)

With examples 'dāva,' 'tāva.'

Ā ĀMANTRYE SAU VENO NAḤ. (263.)

ino nakārasya āmantrye sau pare ākāro vā bhavati ; bho kanchuiā, pakse bho tavassi. (*ā* is optionally substituted in the voc. for the *n* of words ending in *in*.)

MO VĀ. (264)

āmantrye sau nakārasya mo vā bhavati, bho rāam, etc.

BHAVADBHAGAVATOḤ. (265.)

āmantrya iti nivṛttam ; anayos saū pare nasya mo bhavati, bhavam, etc. (In this and the preceding rule the final *m* becomes anusvāra ; *cf*. Var iv. 12)

VĀ ṚYYO YYAḤ. (266)

ṛyasya yyo vā bhavati , ayyautto, pakse ajja (*cf*. Var. iii. 17, x. 11).

THO DHAḤ. (267.)

The Comm. adds 'apadādau' (Var. xii. 3)

IHAHACHOR HASYA. (268.)

dh is substituted for the *h* of iha, and the Prākṛt suffix of the 2d pers. plur. imperative (which Hema ch. calls *bach*, *cf*. Var, vii. 19) as idha or iha, 'here ,' hodha or hoha, 'be ye '

BHUVO BHAḤ. (269)

The Comm. adds *vā* with ex. bhodi, hodi , bhuvadi, huvadi , bhavadi, havadi (Var. xii. 12)

PŪRVASYA PURAVAḤ (270.)

The Comm. adds *va*.

KTVA IADŪṆAU (271.)

With ex. bhavia, bhodūna , havia, hodūna (the MSS. have *iya* for *ia*, but both frequently write *y* for *a*) pakse, bhottā, hattā (Var. xii 9).

KṚGAMO DADUAḤ (272)

ābhyām parasya ktvāpratyayasya. dit adua ityādeśo bhavati ; gadua, etc. (Var. xii. 10)

DIR ICHECHOḤ (273)

tyādīnām ādyatrayasy ' adyasya 'ichechāv' iti vihitayor ichechos sthāne dir bhavati, veti nivṛttam , dedi, bhodi.

ATO DEŚCHA. (274.)

akārāt parayor ichechos sthāne deh (chakārād diścha) bhavati ; gachchhade, gachchhadi ; ata iti kim, nedi, bhodi.

BHAVIṢYATI SSIḤ. (275.)

The Comm. adds 'hissāhāṃ apavādaḥ' (*cf.* Var, vii. 12, 13) with ex. bhavissidi, gachhissidi.

ATO ṄASER ḌĀDOḌĀDŪ. (276.)

akārātparasya ṅases sthāne ādo ādū ityādeśaū ḍitaū bhavataḥ (*cf.* Sanksh. Sāra, 9 ; and Lass. App., p. 54).

IDĀNĪMO DĀṆIṂ. (277.)

(*Cf.* Var. xi. 15, Var. Lect.)

TASMĀT TĀ, (278.)

MO 'NTYAṆṆO VEDETOḤ. (279.)

antyān makārāt para idetos parayor ṇakārāgamo vā bhavati[1].

EVĀRTHE YYEVA. (280.)

HANJE CHEṬYĀHWĀNE. (281.)

(This and the remaining sūtras refer to *nipātāḥ*.)

HIMĀṆAHE VISMAYANIRVEDE. (282.)

ṆAM NANVARTHE. (283.)

AMMAHE HARṢE. (285.)

ŚEṢAM PRĀKṚTAVAT. (286.)

1 The ex. given are '*i-kāre*, juttam nimaṃ, juttamṇam, *e kāre*, kim nedam, kimedaṃ, evam nedam, evamedaṃ.'

APPENDIX D

ON PAGE 32-33 (III. 58)

It has been stated in the little Introduction to Prākṛt Grammar prefixed to this work, that Lassen has established the principle that a long vowel is shortened before two consonants; with the two subsidiary rules, (*a*) *if the long vowel be retained, one of the consonants is* elided, and (*b*) a short vowel before two consonants is occasionally lengthened by eliding one of them (*cf.* Inst. pp. 41-49). There can be no doubt that these are continually confirmed by the later Prākṛt; but how are we to account for the fact, that Vararuchi nowhere states them in his sūtras? The MS. W has indeed a spurious sūtra, *Samyoga-pūrvo-hrasvaḥ*, (*see* App. A. 3), which, though certainly not Vararuchi's, seems to affirm the first; yet the Prākṛta Sanjīvanī, an elaborate commentary on Vararuchi (for an account of which see preface), never recognises it, even in explaining such a change as that of 'āścharya' to 'achchhera' (see note, p. 3). Bhāmaha resorts to an artifice to include a partial application of (*b*) in i 17; and the Sanksh. Sāra allows (*b*) in its 190th rule, '(*dirghaḥ*) *ad id ul lupta-vyañjane*.' (Lass. App. p. 47). *But it is only Hema-chandra who states them clearly* inthe two following rules: (Pāda 1. sūt. 42) *Lupta-ya ra-va-śa-ṣa-sāṃ sa-ṣa-sāṃ dīrghaḥ*;—'wherever a *y*, *r*, *v*, *ś*, *ṣ* or *s* is elided, which precedes or follows an *ś*, *ṣ* or *s*, the preceding vowel is lengthened: as. *pāsaī*, *sīso āso*, *pūso*, etc., for *pāsyati*, *iṣya*, *aśvā*, *puṣya etc.*'—(Pāda

ii. sūt. 90) *na dīrghānusvārāt* (which follows a sūt corresponding to Var. iii. 50, *q v.*), 'the doubling previously enjoined [*cf.* Var. iii. 50] is forbidden *after a long vowel* or an anusvāra [for the latter, *cf.* Var. iii 56], whether these have been introduced by previous rules [*lākṣaṇika*] or are the original letters of the word [*alakṣaṇika*] as *nīsaso* for *niśvāsa* (where the *i* is lengthened by Hemachandra's rule quoted above), *īsaro* for *īśvara* (when the *ī* is originally long), and similarly *phāso*, *pāsam* for *sparśa* and *pārśva*,' etc. Bhāmaha by the examples given in his commentary on Vararuchi iii. 58, would seem to include such words under it: but surely if Vararuchi had intended this rule to exercise such a wide influence he would have expressed himself more clearly, and would have specified the class by a better denomination than *savādi*, as he had before done in a similar case in i. 20 by *tundu rūpesu*, which at once defines the class of words to which it applies, see Comment, *ad locum*. Nor is there any reason, if such principle had been recognised by him, for his inserting such a sūtra as viii 46, as the words therein specified would have at once come within its influence, without needing any further remark. Are we therefore to interpret the silence of Vararuchi as evidence that the principle in question grew up gradually in Prākrt, and only became fully recognised in later times?

APPENDIX E.

HEMACHANDRA'S SŪTRAS ON VOWELS IN SANDHI

(*Cf*, Var. iv, 1),

(pāda i. sūtras 3—9).

[As Vararuchi is defective in this part of Prākṛt Grammar, the following sūtras from Hemachandra are added to supply the deficiency I have omitted many of the examples, as these are often obscure and corrupt from the general absence of Sanskṛt explanations. Lassen has discovered many of these rules by induction from the instances in the plays, *cf*. Inst., pp. 167-9.]

3 *dīrgha hrasvau mitho vṛttau* —Vṛttau samāse svarāṇām dīrgha-hrasvau bahulum bhavataḥ, mithaḥ parasparam, hrasvasya dīrghaḥ, (*antarvediḥ*) *antāvei*, kvachin na bhavati, '*juvaiano*,' kvachid vikalpaḥ, (*pati gṛham*) *paīharm*, *paiharam*, etc.. dīrghasya hrasvaḥ [examples obscure in MSS]—kvacid vikalpaḥ, *jaunaadam* *jaunāadam*, *natsottam* *naisottam*, *vahumuham* *vahūmuham* [*cf*. note, p 37].

4, *padayoḥ sandhir vā*.—Sanskṛtoktaḥ sandhiḥ sarvaḥ prākṛte padayor vyavasthitavibhāṣaya bhavati, *vāsesī tāsa isī* [=*vyāsa ṛṣiḥ*?], *visamāavo visamaāavo* [explained in marg. by *viṣamātapaḥ*], etc.—Padayor iti kim? *pāu*, *pai*, etc.—Bahulādhikārāt[1] kvachid ekapade 'pi, *kāhii*, *kābi*.

1 For this, see Preface.

5. *na yuvarnasyāsve*. ivarnasya cha, *u* uarnasya asve varne pare [*i e.*, followed by a different vowel], sandhir na bhavati....asva iti kim? puhavīro [=prithivi+īśa].

6. *edotoh svrre*.—ekāra okārayoh, pare, sandhir na bhavati.

7. *svarasyodvrtte*.—vyanjana-sampriktah svaro, vyañjane lupte, yo 'vaśisyate, sa 'udvrtta' iha uchyate [*i e.*, a vowel, which has lost its original consonant by elision, is called *udvrtta*], svarasya, udvrtte svare pare, sandhir na bhavati. [*Cf.* Lass. Inst., p. 170].

8. *tyādeb*.—tip-ādīnām svarasya, sware pare, sandhir na bhavati; hoi iha = bhavati iha.

9. *luk*.—svarasya, svare pare, bahulam lug bhavati; nīsāsūsāsā = niśvāsochchhvāsau (niśvāsa + uchchhvāsa). [*Cf.* note transl. p. 37]

INDEX OF PRĀKṚT WORDS

OCCURRING IN THE FOREGOING PAGES[1]

A. (अ)

1 As this Index is intended to comprise chiefly the *useful* Prākṛt words, I have not always inserted those Prākṛt examples which only reproduce the Sanskṛt forms unaltered, and also in case of nominal and pronominal inflexions, I have often contented myself with a single general reference Wherever the Prākṛt from differs in gender from the Sanskṛt, I have noticed the discrepancy

Ā. (आ)

I (इ)

Kh (ख)

G. (ग)

Gh, (घ)

Ch. (च)

2 For words beginning with *h*, see und[illegible]

R. (र)

[1] This form continually occurs in the Prākrit songs in the 4th Act of the Vikramorvaśī

Visaī (?)=grasate, viii 28
Visam=visam, ii 38
Visi=vrshī, i 28
Visūra=khid (*root*), viii 63
Vissaso=viśvāsah iii 58
Vihalo=vihvalah, iii 47
Viriam=viryam, iii 20
Visattho=visvastah, i 17
Visambho=viśrambhah, i 17
Visaso=viśvāsah iii 58
Viha=nibhi (*root*), viii 19.
Vujjhaī=budhyate, viii 48
Vuṭṭai (?)=majjati, viii 68.
Vuttanto=vrttāntah, i 29
Vundavanam=vrndāvanam, i 29
Vea=eva, ix 3
Veana=vedanā, i 34, *cf.* iv 1
Vechchham=vetsyāmi, vii, 16
Vejjam=vaidyam, iii 27
Vediso=vetasah i 3 ii 8
Veddhai=veṣṭate, viii 40
Venhu=viṣṇuh, i 12
Vettūna=viditvā, viii 55
Vebbhalo=vihwalah iii 47.
Veluriam=vaidūryam, iv 33.
Vellī=vallih, i 5
Vo=vah vi 29, 37
Vochchham=vakshyāmi vii 16
Voraṃ=badaraṃ, i 6
Vrandaṃ=vṛndaṃ, iv 27. *cf.* iii 4

Ś (श)

Śahidāni=sodhvā, xi 16 (*Māg*)
Śiālā, etc=śrigālaḥ xi 17 (*Māg*).

S (स)

Saadho=śakatah, ii 21.
Saahuttam=śatakritvas, iv 25 (*cf.* App B)
Saā, sai=sadā, i 11
Saīraṃ=svairam i 36
Samvatto=samvartakah, iii 24
Samvudam=samvrttam, i 29
Samvudi=samvritih, ii 7
Samvellai=samveṣṭate, viii 41
Sankanto=sankrāntah iii 56
Sankā=śanka, iv, 17
Sakka=śak (*root*), viii 52
Sakko=śakrah iii 3
Sachāvam=sachāpam, ii 2
Sajjo=shadjah iii 1
Sanjado=samyatah ii 7
Sanjādo=samyātah, ii 7
Saḍhā=saṭā, ii 21
Sada=śad (*root*) viii 51
Saneho=snehaḥ, iii 64
Saṇṭhaviaṃ, Saṇṭhāviaṃ=sansthāpitaṃ i 10
Saṇḍho=shaṇḍhah, ii 43
Saṇṇā[4]=sanjñā iii 55

4 *Uṇṇatti=vijñaptih* would be a better example *cf* note transl

The End

5 Hemachandra gives three forms, *hittham*, *taddham*, and *tattham*